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THE BOOK OF THE GALTEES AND THE GOLDEN VEIN

Coláiste Muire San Smál,
Luimneach.

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THE BOOK OF THE GALTEES AND THE GOLDEN VEIN

A BORDER HISTORY OF TIPPERARY LIMERICK & CORK

BY

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DUBLIN
HODGES, FIGGIS & CO.
1926

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Printed in Great Britain by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh.*

INTRODUCTORY

THERE are many references, in old Irish and English manuscripts and documents, to the mountains now known as the Galtees, and to the Aherlow Valley. These are sometimes embodied in legends of dim antiquity, and sometimes in the more reliable records of comparatively recent times. But little or no trace of these legends or of the events to which these records refer, is now to be found in the spoken traditions of the people who dwell near these mountains. For such it is necessary to search in books or documents not always easy of access. And, even of these, it is, perhaps, correct to say that none of them gives an account, at once complete and coherent, of the connection of these districts with the great Desmond rebellions in the reign of Elizabeth. Yet the fastnesses of Aherlow and the neighbouring wood of Kylemore, near Kilmallock (the Coill-na Cuigidh of the *Four Masters*), appear to have been the main strongholds of the Desmonds in these rebellions.

There were three Irish-born scribes who wrote histories of these revolts, within fifty years of their occurrence. It is remarkable that the three were the sons of captains or officers of Gerald, Earl of Desmond. This, of course, renders their writings specially valuable. Two of the histories were written in Spain.

The fullest and best of the three is the *Catholicæ Iberniæ* of Dom Philip O'Sullivan, nephew to O'Sullivan Beare. He must have written his story largely from word-of-mouth information derived from the survivors of the various Irish rebellions who had fled for refuge to Spain. And, though it would be only natural to expect to discover occasional inaccuracies in information so collected, his history is found to be remarkably reliable, on the whole, when tested by comparison with any undeniably authentic documents. It is frequently relied upon, even by prejudiced opponents like Cox.

A little later O'Daly wrote his *History of the Geraldines*. It is clear from internal evidence that he was acquainted with O'Sullivan's history. He was a native of the Desmond country who, on becoming a friar at Tralee, had been sent to Portugal. There he was subsequently attached to the Court, and became the friend and confessor of the king and queen. He was entrusted with complimentary embassies from the Courts of Spain and

Portugal to the King of France, and from the latter to Charles II., who was in exile in Holland. He was bishop-elect of Coimbra at the time of his death.

A record like his goes far to contradict the charges of barbarism so commonly levelled against the native Irish by the English writers of the time. For no mere barbarians could have been welcomed and honoured at proud and highly civilised foreign Courts as the Irish exiles so frequently were.

The third of the Irish-born historians was Russell, who wrote the *Relation of the Geraldines* in 1638. Though his father had been an officer of Earl Gerald (who seems to have employed some people of English origin in his household), Russell himself was an admirer of Queen Elizabeth's policy.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* have many entries relating to the Desmonds, and their customary impartiality gives these records a high value. Yet they are necessarily defective as histories, as all Annals of the kind must be, inasmuch as they tell no continuous story of the happenings in any one part of Ireland. They deal with the whole country from year to year.

MacGeoghegan's history, though useful as a compilation, is confessedly founded on the writings of some of those mentioned above, when dealing with the events with which we are concerned.

By collating all of these with English histories some idea of the truth may be arrived at; but the two sets of authorities conflict so much, and the dates given are occasionally so confusing that it is necessary to invoke the aid of the English State Papers, and, even at the risk of loss of interest in the narrative, to make some attempt to adjust the dates correctly.

Any one who proceeds upon these lines, however, will be driven to form some unexpected conclusions. Most people who gather their notions of public events in Elizabeth's time from recognised English literature, acquire the impression that it was a Golden Age of magnificent adventures and splendid literary development. But it had its seamy side, and this it is that is mainly revealed in the State records and the writings of English officials referring to Ireland. Upon that unhappy country a horde of greedy adventurers seems to have been let loose, to enforce the Queen's political and religious supremacy. This led to rebellion after rebellion, and when these were mercilessly suppressed, to widespread confiscation and irritating money-levies. When there was open rebellion the religious questions were kept in the background ; when a sort of peace was arrived at they became important again, and the native leaders were harassed and annoyed with regulations and penalties attached to the practice of the religion in

which they had hitherto believed. Accordingly Elizabethan rule in Ireland produced a welter of bloodshed and ruin that it would be difficult to parallel in the history of the most barbarous times.

So much may be said here in mere deference to the truth, and not with any desire to cultivate ideas of hatred or revenge, things of bitter fruit in themselves. If the sole purpose of a recital of events of the kind were to rake up the ashes of long-forgotten quarrels and controversies, it would not be worth the trouble of writing. But the story is intimately connected with the places with which we are dealing and it is impossible to omit it. And it may have its lesson. For, if it prove anything, it is that great questions of State policy need far other treatment than merciless suppression on the one hand and violent resistance on the other. Such methods leave behind but ruin and devastation and burning memories that quickly lead to new upheavals and the perpetuation of all that is evil in warfare.

For the rest, the story of the Desmonds is a dramatic one. It seems to move towards its climax with all the inevitableness of a Greek tragedy, as if some malignant Fates were ruling the destinies of that unhappy house. The detailed story of the strenuous efforts of James Fitzmaurice to avert this evil destiny has never been told, hitherto. Even here it is necessary to glance only

at many of his achievements when they are not connected with the records of Aherlow or the Golden Vein. If an attempt, however small, to rescue the memory of that very gallant fighter from undeserved oblivion succeed even in a slight degree, it will have been well worth the making.

In any case the bringing together of these Galtee legends and records should prove of interest to the dwellers under the shadows of these massive hills.

Though the town of Tipperary is not once mentioned in those records of the Desmond rebellions—it had probably been wiped out of existence, for the time being, in the border warfare, —it is situated in the centre of the district in which the main happenings took place. We find mention made not only of the great Desmond fastnesses of Aherlow and Kylemore and the walled towns of Kilmallock and Cashel, but of such places as Kilfeakle, Pallas, Donaskeigh, Greenane, Cullen, and Bansha. Surely it is good to know that we live upon historic ground where men fought and died gallantly enough for the principles in which they believed, three hundred years ago, or thereabouts.

And when for this one small Irish district there remain such numerous records, hitherto uncollected and uncompared, it seems evident that much remains to be done for local history throughout the

country generally, and that many a noble and inspiring story of struggle and endurance probably lies buried under the rubbish-heaps of the centuries, ready to awake to life and light at the touch of some of our Irish writers of the future.

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THE BOOK OF THE GALTEES AND THE GOLDEN VEIN

THE GALTEES AND THEIR LAKES

THE Galtee Mountains are a picturesque and rugged range rising rather abruptly from fairly level country. For this reason they are as good to look upon as any mountains in Ireland, though there are two or three others that reach levels a few hundred feet higher. The main range starts at the east near Cahir and runs westward to Mitchelstown. It is about sixteen miles long, but, if the outlying ranges of Sliabh Riach and Ballyhoura belonging to the same formation be included, it measures thirty to their termination near Doneraile.

The principal range culminates in the bold height of Galtymore, 3015 feet above sea-level. Its height is emphasised by the absence of foothills. It seems to rise abruptly from the broken plain through which the river Aherlow winds, and thus it presents a bolder aspect than some of its peers. Massive flanking buttresses thrust themselves out here and there and add to the effect.

The glen of Aherlow, as it is—not too happily

—named, lies about four miles to the south of Tipperary town. It is really a plain, rather broken towards its western end and enclosed between the Galtee Mountains and the long straight ridge of Slievenamuck.

This plain is about two miles wide. It is narrower at the western than at the eastern end, where it opens out, at the end of the Slievenamuck range, into the broad flat territory formerly known as Muskry Quirke. This includes most of the country between Bansha and Cahir, and the railway line between those two places runs through its centre.

Seen from Tipperary the hill of Slievenamuck hides the base of the Galtees, but this hill, with its clothing of leafy woods and its intermingled shades of brown and green, affords a fitting contrast to the ever-varying colour scheme of the massive range in the background.

For, one of the most wonderful things about those hills is the shifting play of light and colour that changes from hour to hour, nay, at times from moment to moment. The colours vary from the darkest tones of leaden purple, through the summer dress of faint olives and greens, to the purest winter white. Naturally the effects are often magnificent, and if, for example, it falls to your lot to see the Galtees clad in a snow garment so soft and pure that its colouring seems to melt away into the grey dun of the winter sky, at some moment when the sinking sun just flushes the topmost peaks with faint rose or pink, you will feel inclined to do as Linnaeus did when he first saw

the blaze of the gorse-bloom, and thank God for the wonder and splendour of it all.

On approaching closer to the hill-sides the purples change into dark browns and greens of many shades. If you climb to the highest crest you find there a brown moss in which the feet sink luxuriously, as in some carpet of rich pile. Striking effects are produced by the ranked and serried appearance of some of the neighbouring red-brown peaks which seem to stand out against the blue hills of Knockmealdown in the distance. If fog-wreaths happen to be floating around, even more wonderful results are achieved as they appear and disappear with uncanny swiftness along the mountain sides. So confusing are these at times that even the mountaineers lose all sense of locality.

This is not very surprising as, under the influence of these wizard mists, upward slopes seem to change into valleys and hollows into hills in remarkable fashion. Landmarks become so confused that one has to proceed cautiously to avoid getting lost. Fatal accidents have been known to happen in dark winter days from this cause, but in fine summer weather, when the ground is dry and the sky is clear, it is hard to imagine a pleasanter outing than a day on these mountains can give. The air up there is then as invigorating as wine, and there is a cool refreshing breeze blowing always over the crest. There is an unaccustomed charm, too, in the all-prevailing silence and peace in which nothing moves but the sheep that look like white dots scattered over the hill-side, or perched on rocky ledges hung far up in the air.

Most of the interest of these hills seems to attach itself to the northern slopes. On the south the Galtee range is not nearly so picturesque. There it is just a substantial mountain mass. The boldness of its structure to the north and the charm of the Aherlow valley lying at its foot render it much more attractive there. Perhaps this is why most of its stories and legends are connected with the northern side and the Aherlow glen.

The poet Spenser has referred more than once to these hills and to Aherlow. He calls the mountain "Old Father Mole", and personifies the streams in the usual classical fashion.[1]

Spenser seems, however, to have been more familiar with the southern than with the northern side of the Galtees. This is only natural from the situation of his residence at Kilcolman, near Doneraile. The streams to which he refers flow mainly on the southern slopes of the Galtees.

There are four—or, if a small outlier to Lough Muskry be counted, five—deep loughs or tarns high up on the northern hill-side. Their names from east to west are: Muskry, with its outlier Farbreaga, Borheen, Diheen, and Curra or Corrig. The name "Muskry" seems to be a relic of the title of the territory of Muskry Breogain, also called Muskry Quirke after the family of that name. The "Lake" is situated in the country once known by these names, which is said to have been owned by Cairbre Musc, son of Conn of the

[1] The full quotations and allusions can be found in the article on "Spenser's Irish Rivers" in Joyce's *The Wonders of Ireland.*

AHERLOW VALLEY FROM SLIEVENAMUCK.

Galtymore in the centre background.

Hundred Battles. From this ownership the name is derived.

Borheen was evidently approached by a small road, whence its title.

Diheen is by far the most storied of the lot, though it is comparatively small. It has a surface of only two or three acres, whilst Muskry has an area of over twenty, and Curra of twelve. Not that these loughs appear to be even so large. The absence of any standard on the treeless mountain heights with which to compare their size makes them appear narrow enough for one to throw a stone across any of them. But one has only to try to be undeceived; or, better still, to watch a man or a sheep moving on the opposite shore of Muskry or of Curra.

All the loughs are popularly supposed to be "enchanted", but Diheen is said to hold in its depths the famous King-Serpent waiting in lonely vigil for the Monday that will never come.

Along the mountain-sides near these lakes grows the "hungry grass", if we are to believe in local tradition. If one should meet with a patch of this the appetite is supposed to become intensified to a dangerous extent.

There are few if any water-plants growing in these tarns. The absence of any growth on their shores but rough grasses, mosses, or heather, lends them a peculiar aspect of desolation.

ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF THE GALTEES

Contrary to the belief of many people, most mountain ranges do not owe their existence to

volcanic action. For one reason or another the skin of the earth crumples at long intervals and forms wrinkles, with a kind of movement sideways very much as if a smoothly laid table-cloth were raised into wrinkles by sliding a finger along it. To an earth-movement of this kind, which occurred long ages ago, and which is known as the Hercynian movement, we owe the existence of the Galtees and of nearly all the mountain ranges that run east and west in Ireland.

Rocks are not, however, quite as flexible as table-cloths, and a section made by the Government Geological Survey seems to show that this earth-movement met with violent resistance in the Aherlow district, because it would appear as if a vast sheet of rock had been broken off there and tilted upwards on its northern side. This sheet was some ten miles long and about two miles wide. This fracture now forms the northern face of the hill of Slievenamuck. The corresponding end of the break northwards seems to have been thrust rather downwards at the same time, and to find it now one would have to search for it about 3000 feet below the surface. A " fault " of this extent is rare enough to be wonderful, in these islands at any rate. It indicates what enormous resistance there must have been to the great earth-movement at this point, and with what unspeakable labour the Galtees were born.

These mountains were once very much higher, being covered with immense layers of limestone and other rocks. But in the course of long long ages this covering slowly weathered away, melting,

as it were, under the influence of heat and cold and wind and damp, much as a snowdrift might melt under the sun's rays.

The wild rugged outlines of the original hills were curved and softened, and as the upper rocks dissolved or decayed away the layers underlying the limestone, such as the Devonian or Old Red Sandstone and the Silurian, have been brought to light. The Old Red Sandstone places its "red" well in evidence to-day on the boots and cart-wheels of the residents in these mountain districts, whilst Silurian rock is found at the base of Galteemore.

Long after the upheaval of these mountains a spell or spells of intensely cold weather set in and lasted for prolonged periods. The whole land was covered with enormous layers of snow and ice. Towards the end of this period small glaciers or ice-masses formed on the crest of the Galtees, here and there. These tended to move downwards constantly by their own weight, and in the course of time chiselled out definite paths and great hollows in the mountain-sides, the remains of which are visible to this day. As each glacier moved down the hill-side it brought with it, mingled with its substance, great masses of rock or debris torn from the flanks of the mountain. When it reached the warmer valley below it melted and deposited this mass of ground-up rock. There the deposit formed an embankment which constantly grew higher so that the elastic tail-end of the glacier was constantly forced to turn upwards and climb over it, so adding regularly

to its height. When the ice finally disappeared the steep hollows inside those embankments or " moraines " filled with water and formed those deep tarns or " cirques " which exist to-day on these hills, as well as on many others.

THE NAMES OF THE MOUNTAINS

The origin of the word " Galtee " is not definitely known. For a long time the range was called Sliabh " Crotta Cliach ", which the story-tellers of old translated as the mountain of the " Harps of Cliach ". This name was ultimately contracted into " Slieve Grot " and even " Slieve Grud ", and a survival of the designation is still found in the name of the townland, Dungrud, at the foot of the Galtees in the glen of Aherlow.[1]

In a map of " Mounster " published by Speed in 1610 the name of the range is given as " Mount Galton ". This is probably one of the earliest appearances of a version of the modern name.

The people who lived at the foot of the Galtees were native Irish speakers up to fifty or sixty years ago. They always called the mountains " Gailthes " or " Gylethes ". " Galtees " is not a very good imitation of the name as pronounced by them, but it is infinitely better than the ultra-refined " Gawltees " which is sometimes used.

[1] The " Dun " that gave its name to this townland was a royal residence according to the *Book of Rights*. It was restored or fortified by King Brian Boroimhe, and remained a stronghold of the O'Briens of Aherlow until the time of the Desmond rebellions, if not later.

This is a hopelessly debased version which will not, it may be hoped, live long or spread very far.

The old people's way of pronouncing the word suggests that it is derived from the Irish word " Coillte " (pr. " Kylethe "). Slieve na gCoillte would mean " The Mountain of the Woods ", and the last word in the phrase would exactly represent, according to the Irish fashion, the pronunciation of the name of the mountain as given by those old folk in the past. Now, as will appear farther on in this record, the Aherlow valley was covered with woods in the days of the Desmond rebellions, and just as Slieve na gCrotta Cliach became Slieve Grot, so Slieve na gCoillte would tend to become Slieve Goilthe. Of course there is no proof that the name has originated in this, or indeed in any other way. The ways of the dogmatic etymologist are set with pitfalls, and the suggestion is merely offered as a plausible conjecture. The main thing to be noted is that the name " Galtee " does not appear to have been in use before the sixteenth century in any records that have survived.

THE HARPS OF CLIACH

Slightly varying versions of the story of Cliach of the Harps are found in the *Leabhar Breac*, the *Dindshenchas*, and the " Extracts " in *Silva Gadelica*.

They agree in stating that Cliach played and sang for a whole year outside the palace of Bodbh

Derg, being in love with the latter's daughter, Conchenn or Conchend.

Bodbh Derg was the king of the Munster Sidhe,[1] and his palace was in Femin or Slievenamon. During his year of troubadour work Cliach was without food or sleep according to the *M. Dindshenchas*. Bodbh, disapproving of his love-making, drew a magic mist round his palace which prevented the ardent lover from entering. Thereupon the latter retired to the top of the mountains, now known as the Galtees, where he continued to play and sing. His music, however, produced no effect on Conchend's heart. The very hills were not so hard, however, as, when he continued to play, the ground burst open under his feet, and the lake " which is on the top of the mountain " sprang up in the spot that is Lough Bel Sead, which is also called Lough Bel Dragain or Drecon, the latter names meaning the Lake of the Dragon's Mouth.

Slievenamon, though plainly visible, is twenty or thirty miles distant from the scene of this remarkable occurrence, but that made little difference, of course, to the Sidhe-folk.

Cliach is stated to have been the harper of Smirdubh Mac Smail, the king of the three Rosses of Sliabh Ban in Connaught—according to the *Leabhar Breac*, but according to *Silva Gadelica* king of the three dwellings in Sidh Baine. He always played on two harps. According to one account the dragon seized on Cliach, who thereupon died

[1] Pr. " Shee " = underground or fairy folk.

of terror. Other accounts say that he plunged into the lake and was drowned.

As regards this dragon of the Galtee lake, it is probable that he was the prototype of the Serpent of the later legends. He was caught once, no doubt to the great surprise of the good lady, by Ternog's nurse, who was trying to catch a salmon. St. Fursa shut him fast in the loch, and there is a prophecy that he will come out again on St. John's Day, in the reign of Flann Cinaidh. "Near the end of the world, out of the beast will come the fiery bolt which will kill three-fourths of the people of the world, men, women, boys and girls and cattle as far as the Mediterranean Sea, eastwards." [1]

The tale of Cliach is evidently an eponymous one. That is, instead of the name being derived from the history, the fantastic story was built up by some poetic mind around the mountain name. This probably explains why Cliach had to play upon two harps. This musical sleight-of-hand was necessary because "Crotta" is plural and meant "Harps", not "Harp".

Very likely, too, all the legends of serpents and dragons were built up upon a fanciful name given to the opening in which Loch Diheen lies. Some

[1] According to Keating, St. Fursa, or Fursey, was the son of Aodh Beanmail, King of Munster (died A.D. 614, *Annals of the Four Masters*). He was a well-known saint, and Hanmer, who credits him with a more ignoble origin, states that he is said to have had many visions and "dreadful conflicts with divells and infernal spirits". He went as a missionary to England, and thence to France, where he died at Paris A.D. 638.

one fancied that it bore a faint resemblance to a dragon's mouth and called it so. The rest was easy to the poetic story-builders.

For the Irish, like many other ancient nations, had reduced story-telling to a fine art. To enter any learned profession in ancient Ireland a man had to know by heart a large number of recognised tales, and even at the present day there still exist more than six hundred of the tales listed for this purpose. There was no need for any of them to be true. Very few of the best stories of any age are. Rather were these invented to charm the dwellers in dun and lios and rath when the shades of evening fell, and the youths and maidens gathered round the fire to hear some shanachie relate his tales of love and valour, and life and death, or to listen to them sung in the rich old Irish tongue by some wandering bard. For such listeners Cliach and his harps were real enough, and might conceivably be seen by the imaginative, or their sweet fairy music heard, as the twilight stole over the slopes of the great hills, and their outlines died away under the faint light of the stars.

However, there are too many schools nowadays to permit of our treating such stories seriously, whether it be a gain or a loss, and we must try farther for the origin of this name.

"Crotta", according to Joyce, means "Humps" as well as "Harps", and the term is applied to round hump-like hills, or hummocks, especially in the case of Barna gCrotta in the King's County. This is the very form of the word sometimes

used to describe the Galtees, " Slieve na gCrotta Cliach ".

The Galtees are not exactly hump-like, though they present from many angles an irregular hummocky appearance sufficient to justify the use of this name. " Crotta " may simply mean " curved ", not necessarily ungraceful, outlines. Its use as the name of the harps has, not improbably, some reference to their graceful curving frames.

The late Mr. T. J. Westropp suggested that the name was given because the lines on the mountain-side carved out by the winter torrents presented a harp-like appearance on a large scale, at some points.

There probably was never any Cliach. The whole district was called " Cliu " of old, and Cliach is merely the genitive of this word, meaning " of Cliu ". Cliu is said to have been one of the slaves of the sons of Milidh, that is, the original leaders of the invading Milesians. The territories cleared of wood by these slaves were named after them, and a great part of this Cliu was a rent-paying district held by non-Milesian tribes long ages afterwards. The interesting but rather mysterious Aradh held some of it too, but these were a free people, paying no rent. The Aradh of Tiobrad Arann were a part of this tribe or people. Of course the whole story of the Milesians has been overlaid and hidden with the additions and fanciful inventions of the historians of many ages until it is impossible to say how much of it is true or false, but, at any rate, there was a wide district

called Cliu, and we can choose between Mr. Westropp's explanation of the mountain name and the more prosaic one that Sliabh na gCrotta Cliach simply meant the mountain hummocks of Cliu.

Except in the tale of the mythical harper, the word "Cliach" is nearly always found in these local records, in a position in which it can be rendered as meaning "of Cliu".[1]

[1] This "Cliu" affords an interesting example of the dangers that lie in the way of speculators on the origin of old Irish names. Even O'Donovan himself seems to have been misled as regards this word. A few years before the Christian era, Nuadhna Neacht, King of Ireland, was slain (Anno Mundi 5090, *A.F.M.*) in the battle of "Cliach in Ui Drona".

Now Idrona is unmistakably in County Carlow, and O'Donovan quite correctly places this Cliach or Cliu in that county.

The Four Masters relate that Muircheartach devastated Cliach (or Cliu) in the year A.D. 527.

Influenced, no doubt, by the preceding entry O'Donovan says that this record refers to the Cliachs in County Carlow, and the editors of other Annals naturally follow his lead, without question.

But Flann Mainistrech, lector of Boyle (died A.D. 1056), described Muircheartach's raid as "the devastation of Cliu from Luachar (in N. Kerry) to Cashel of Munster", and our authority (Irish Texts Society's *Keating*, index, word "Cliu") says also that Cliu extended to Killaloe.

This makes it clear that the Cliu devastated by Muircheartach lay in the present counties of Limerick and Tipperary and not in Carlow.

There was a Cliu Mail in the south-west part of County Limerick, named after Mal, son of Ugaine Mor,

THE TALE OF LOUGH BEL SEAD

Turning once again to the region of legend, we find that the name Lough Bel Sead has less terrific associations than the other title of the Galtee lake, Loch Draguin.

According to the *Leabhar Breac*, Coerabar Boeth, the daughter of Etal Anbuail of the fairy mansions of Connaught, was a " powerfully gifted " maiden.

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who was King of Ireland about 500 B.C. Several of the districts lying along the borders of Cliu Mail include the word " Cliach " in their titles. Such are Aine Cliach (Knockaney), Greine Cliach (Pallasgrean), and Aradh Cliach. Adjoining these is Uaithne Cliach (Owney, or Abington district).

Aradh Cliach included Cullen and probably extended to the Galtees (O'Donovan, Note 755, O'Huidhrin's topographical poem).

All these border territories lie within the limits of the larger Cliu, and the word " Cliach " in their names almost certainly means " of Cliu ".

The northern side of the Galtees was probably included in Cliu.

O'Donovan usually connected other references to " Cliach " in Irish with Aine Cliach specially. This led him into curious difficulties sometimes. For instance, in the *Book of Rights* there is a record, in verse, of a tribute " from the hero of Cashel and Cliach ". He notes on this (p. 39) that Cliach is a territory round Cnoc Aine in the county of Limerick, and that it is introduced here " to fill up the metre " ! Also in O'Huidhrin's poem there is a reference to the O'Dwyers whose acquisition is far " over Cliach ", which seems to puzzle him. Both references are, however, perfectly natural when attached to a Cliu that extended to Cashel and its neighbourhood, where the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanagh held sway.

She had three times fifty ladies in her train. They were all transformed every year into three times fifty beautiful birds and restored to their natural shape next year. These birds were chained in couples by chains of silver. One bird amongst them was the most beautiful of the world's birds, having a necklace of red gold on her neck, with three times fifty chains depending from it, each chain terminating in a ball of gold.[1] During their transformation into birds they always remained on Crotta Cliach, wherefore the people who saw them were in the habit of saying, " Many is the Sead " (that is, a gem, a jewel, or other precious article) " at the mouth of Lough Crotta this day ". And hence it is called Lough Bel Sead, or the Lake of the Jewel Mouth. A further legend tells us that Aengus, the son of the Dagda—another king of the underground or Sidhe people of all Ireland—was asleep one night and thought that he saw standing near him the most beautiful girl he had ever seen. He tried to take her hand, but she vanished. Next night she came again, bringing a little harp in her hand, which was the sweetest that he had ever heard, and she played and sang, so that he fell asleep till morning.

This thing happened every night for a year, and then, when she ceased to come, Aengus pined away with love and would take no food.

None of the ordinary physicians could find out

[1] It is interesting to note here that amongst the Irish gold-finds of undoubted antiquity are small hollow balls of gold. They were probably used as ornaments in some such way as here described.

what was wrong, but Fergne, the physician of King Conn, suspecting something of the truth, questioned the sufferer and learned what had happened. Messengers were sent all over Ireland searching for a year for the girl, but they searched in vain.

Then Aengus' father, the Dagda, was called in, and he sent messengers to Bodbh, king of the Munster Sidhe. Bodbh searched in his turn, and at the end of a year sent to say that he had found a young girl answering to the description given, at Lough Beul Draguin at the Harps of Cliach.

So Aengus came to Bodbh's palace at Sidhe Femin (Slievenamon) and feasted for three days and nights, after which he set out with Bodbh until they came to the sea (*sic*), and there they saw three times fifty young girls and the object of their search amongst them. She was the most beautiful of them all. The others had a silver chain between every two of them, but she wore a necklace of shining gold. Bodbh gave her name as Caer Ormaith. Her residence was stated to be in Sidhe Umain in Connaught. The Dagda went to King Ailill and Queen Maeve in Connaught to ask for the hand of Caer for his son. They sent for her father, Etail Obnuail (*sic*), who refused to give his daughter to Aengus, but, under threats and compulsion, he told them that she was under an enchantment, and that she would be at Lough Beul Draguin in the following month in the shape of a swan, and that three fifties of beautiful birds would accompany her.

So Aengus Oge went to the loch and saw there

three times fifty white birds with their silver chains round their necks, and he stood on the shore and called to Caer. Then she came to him and he took the shape of a swan, and they went into the lake and around it three times. Afterwards they took wing and flew to his dwelling at Brugh-na-Boinne (on the Boyne river). And as they went, they made music so sweet that all who heard it slept for three days and three nights, and Caer stayed with him there for ever afterwards.[1] Of which it may be said that the people for whom such legends were composed may have been imaginative and credulous, but they were far removed from barbarism.

LEGEND OF THE SERPENT

The modern story-tellers connect Lough Diheen with all the tales of the serpent. It is situated in a hollow, the mouth of which is plainly visible from afar, high up on the left or eastern side of Galtymore. It requires some imaginative powers to trace a resemblance either to the mouth of a dragon or the mouth of a vat in its opening. The word "Diheen" means a tub or vat. Whether it is some corruption of the more ancient "Draguin" or a new name derived from the appearance of the lake-mouth must be left to more skilled etymologists to decide.

We have, fortunately, a record of the local legend, dating from the middle of the nineteenth

[1] The tale is well told in Lady Gregory's *Cuchullin of Muirthemne*.

century, when John Windele picked it up. It was inserted in Borlase's *Dolmens*, from which the following extracts are taken :

" On a man trying to drain a lake called Veildiheen in Desmond, the water lit up and a beast came out like a donkey. . . . The terrible supernatural being who . . . inhabits the depths of the Lac de Tabe in the Pyrenees may certainly be compared to the Piast of Lock Veildiheen. This lake (says Windele) is enchanted. It contains a great worm (Crom) or Piast. The serpent lies imprisoned under a great tub or vat, whence is derived the name of the lake. The monster, in old times, was a pest to the country, and so powerfully malignant that no one could approach the mountain, much less the lake. At length St. Patrick arrived at the Galtees on his mission of peace and beneficence and he held a colloquy with the Piast . . . who consented to try the luxury of a short sojourn under the cover of a vat which the Saint procured, Patrick promising to set him free after the day of Luan (Monday). But this was a mere taking advantage of the poor monster's simplicity, for the Saint's Luan is a time as remote as Tibb's Eve, or the Greek Kalends, and ever and anon the poor serpent is heard painfully calling out, ' Is fadda an Luan i a Phadruig ! ' that is, ' It is a long Monday, O Patrick! ' "

" Veil " is, of course, the modern version of the ancient " Bel " or " Beul " meaning a mouth.

Windele does not note it, but the local people used to say that the serpent put its head up from the lake and called out its complaint on every

seventh Easter Monday morning. They added that it was fastened to the bottom of the lake by a rib of grass over which the saint wove some spell of power.[1]

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF SLIEVENAMUCK

Slievenamuck — formerly Sliabh Muicce — is said to be called after a great sow which devastated the neighbouring country. It was slain by Finn Mac Cumhall.[2] Finn, secluding himself from the sons of Morna who sought his life, came as a young man to the chief smith of Cullen, Lochan, who had a beautiful daughter called Cruithne. When leaving Finn asked Lochan to make two spears

[1] It is of interest to compare this version with the story of a monster or Piast as told in *Silva Gadelica*. There the monster was fastened to the bottom of a lake in "Ros enaigh" (wherever that may have been) by a rush. St. Patrick, who tied him there, asked how it was that this king-serpent was left for him to deal with when the Fianna exterminated all the other serpents in Ireland. This shows that the tale comes down from a period before that in which the belief became prevalent that all the snakes were banished by the saint himself. It is clear that these are legends whose origin is lost in hoar antiquity and that they were the outcome of the dreamings of a highly imaginative and poetical people. The old versions are usually much superior to the modern. Indeed it is interesting to note how they have sometimes degenerated into something quite different, as in the case of the name of this lake and its stories, and as the mythological heroes of the Tuatha de Danann period have degenerated into the latter-day fairies.

[2] "Boyish exploits of Finn."

for him. The master smith did so, and warned him not to go upon the road on which was the sow called Beo, which had devastated mid-Munster. Finn, with all the obstinacy and pugnacity of his youth, took to that very road. He encountered the sow, which charged him, but he thrust one of his spears through her and took her head as a bridal gift to Cruithne.

AHERLOW

The derivation of the name of the famous glen does not appear to be well known. In a note to O'Daly's translation of *The Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution* it is stated that " Arc " signifies a boar, in the case of Droumarc, a cairn of the Slieve Muck range. A great boar is recorded as having resided there, and many legends prevail in the subjacent " glen of Atharla " (the glen of the heifer) respecting him.

If there be a cairn called Droumarc it is not very widely known locally, but Droumarka is a town-land in the Aherlow valley. " Eatherlach " was the old Irish name of the place. That was corrupted into Natherlach (from " na Eatherlach ") by the early English invaders. Later it became Aherlow in a dozen forms, including Spenser's " Arlo ".

According to Mr. Westropp's papers, to which reference has already been made, three little-known tribes of non-Milesian rent-payers occupied these districts. They were the Crotraighe, the Artraighe, and the Eatharlaighe. Possibly these names may

have helped to name the district, but it is at least as likely that they arose from the district names.

ANCIENT RECORDS OF THE GALTEES

Keating tells us that Cormac mac Art came to ask the help of Tadg, son of Cian (who was son of Olioll Olom, King of Munster), at Ely (in north Tipperary) against the three Ferguses who had ousted him from the monarchy of Ireland.

Tadg undertook to bring him to the champion, Lughaidh Lamha, who was his (Tadg's) grandfather's brother. " The place where you will find him ", he said, " is in Eatharlach beside Slieve Grot." Cormac found Lughhaidh lying down in a hunting booth in Aherlow glen and, striking his javelin through the booth, wounded him in the face. In spite of this inauspicious introduction Cormac secured the services of Lughaidh at the subsequent battle of Crinna, where that fierce champion attacked, as he thought, the opposing king and slew him. Cormac was wise enough to disguise one of his attendants and set him in his own place. Lughaidh slew two of the three Ferguses, whom he took in turn for the hostile king, and brought their heads to this attendant whose name was Deilenn.

On being told that in neither case had he brought the head of the real king he sallied forth again, and in the end, slaying the hostile King Fergus, brought his head to Deilenn as before.

When Deilenn told him that he was at length successful, this wild champion, enraged by the

difficulty of the task which had been set him, dashed the head at Cormac's unhappy substitute and slew him with the blow.

In the *Silva Gadelica* version of this tale it is said that Cormac and his friends found Lughaidh bathing at Aherlow, and consequently unarmed. Cormac thereupon held his sword over the head of Lughaidh and induced him to promise King Fergus's head as ransom.[1]

OTHER REFERENCES TO THE GALTEES IN OLD MSS.

In the *Agallamh na Senorach*, or Colloquy of the Ancients, the following is to be found : " Then Patrick questioned Caeilte, ' Had ye musicians in the Fianna ? ' and he answered, ' We had so, the finest musician that was in either Ireland or Scotland '. ' What name was his ? ' ' Cnu Dheireol ' (*i.e.* diminutive nut). ' Where was he acquired? ' ' Between Crotta Cliach and Sidh na mban ' (Slievenamon) ' in the South.' ' What was his description? ' ' Four fists of Finn they were that made up his stature, three in the instrument of music that he played, and the matter with him was this: that the Tuath de Danann's other musicians were grown jealous of him,' " and apparently thrust him forth from their fairy dwelling for the Fianna to find.

Another query refers to the death of a poet. " Cainen inquired again: ' And where was

[1] The battle of Crinna was fought A.D. 226 (*Annals of the Four Masters*).

Ferchis mac Comain the poet killed?' 'It was a shot of a hardened holly javelin which, on the top of Sliabh Grot, Ael, son of Dergdubh, delivered at a stag, but with the same slew Ferchis unwittingly.'" Keating gives the dwelling of this Feirgeas or Ferchis, son of Coman, as An Chnocach, which lies three miles north-east of Cahir. He tells us that Mac Con, King of Ireland, came to Munster to seek the help of the descendants of Olioll Olom, his foster-father, but they refused it as he had slain many of their relatives in battle. On his return journey he stood, one day, with his back against a pillar-stone at Deargraith in Magh Feimhean (Derrygrath, four miles north-east of Cahir). There he was distributing gold and silver to the bards and ollamhs when Feirgeas came up, provided with a spear called Ringcne ("Ring" means a spear-point amongst other things) and drove it through Mac Con and into the pillar-stone, causing his death "without delay". It seems only a justice that ought to appeal to a poet that Feirgeas should die, in his turn, of a spear wound. He had been ordered by Cormac Mac Art to slay Mac Con, however. The field where this particular occurrence took place is called "Gort an Oir", or Field of Gold, from the quantity there bestowed on the bards and ollamhs.

Three saints have left records of their names in Aherlow. Not very much is known about them, however. St. Sedna was a disciple of St. Senan of Scattery Island, near Kilrush. In one of the works of St. Aengus Cele-de he writes that St. Sedna governed the church of Cluain between the

mountains of Grott and Mairge, and Keating says that he was the guardian saint of the "Clan Briain of Eatherlach". Another account says that he was a bishop and governed the church of "Cluain beg idir Crotta Cliach agus Sliabh Muicce", which is very plainly Clonbeg in the glen of Aherlow.

Of St. Berrihert, whose "Kyle" is still held in some veneration at Ardane at the base of the Galtees, little or nothing seems to be known.

From the road from Bansha to Cahir a smaller road branches off to the right at Toureen and leads to a railway crossing, to the south of which lie remarkable remains of a little early church, with a well, and the foundations of a beehive-shaped dwelling. It is called Kilpeacon, the saint after whom it is called being known as St. Peacaun in the district. Keating preserves a rather incredible and not very interesting legend concerning this saint. Colgan says St. "Becan" dwelt at the monastery of "Kilbrecain" (Kilbecain) or Cluain-aird-Mobecoc in Munster. O'Clery puts the site of this church in Muscraigh Breogain. This is useful as helping to fix the extent of Muskry (also known as Muskry Quirke). It also included Kilfeakle, and these two guide-points give some idea of its location.

Whilst on the subject of churches it may be desirable to note that Moore Abbey near Galbally was probably erected by the Franciscans in 1471, though some credit it to Donal O'Brien, King of Limerick, in the twelfth century.

The graceful tower of the abbey is in a ruinous

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condition and unlikely to exist much longer unless strengthened or repaired.

A mere fragment of the castle of the O'Briens at Dungrud, a mile away, still exists to mark the site of that Dalcassian stronghold.

HISTORICAL RECORDS

There are said to have been a hundred Milesian kings of Ireland previous to the Christian era. Their very names still exist as a weariness and nightmare to any one whom hard necessity compels to peruse them.

In the year A.D. 123 (*Four Masters*) King Conn came to the throne. A fierce old warrior he must have been, for he acquired the title of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and even this only as a loose general indication of his pugnacious qualities. He is said to have fought sixty battles against his royal predecessor, whom he slew; one hundred against the men of Ulster; and one hundred against the King of Munster, who prevailed over him and forced him to divide his kingdom of Ireland and share it with the victor. Conn was compelled, in addition, to give his widowed daughter in a second marriage to the heir of the Munster king.

This prince was Olioll Olom. When he came to the throne he had his own troubles with a rival claimant. These culminated in the battle of Magh Mucruimhe near Athenry, where seven of Olioll Olom's sons were slain, as well as his brother-in-law Art, King of Ireland.

The conqueror seized on the Irish kingdom and

left Munster to its own King, who was his half-brother.

The two surviving sons of Olioll Olom were named Cormac Cas and Cian. The King, being now old, arranged that the elder, Cormac, should inherit his kingdom, but having subsequently learned that an heir had been born to his eldest son, Eoghan, after the death of the latter, he decreed that Cormac Cas should hold the kingdom for his lifetime, and that Eoghan's son should succeed him, and that the descendants of each should afterwards hold the throne in turn.

This curious arrangement prevailed, with irregular interruptions at times, up to the reign of Brian Boroimhe, and even to some extent until the English invasion.

The descendants and people of Eoghan were called the Eoganacht, and the name was attached to their territories as well as to themselves. The McCarthys were their chiefs in later times, but many other noble families belonged to the Eoganacht, such as the O'Sullivans, O'Donoghues, O'Keeffes, etc.

The people and descendants of Cormac Cas were called Dal-gCais—or Dalcassians—that is literally "the people of Cas". The O'Briens became their chiefs after the time of the great King Brian.

The Eoganacht had their chief seat at Cashel, but they had a large stretch of country near where Tipperary town now stands, from which they had driven out the Aradh. This was known in later days as Onaght (the usual form which

" Eoganacht " ultimately took in English state and legal papers). This Eoganacht district seems to have included Sologhead, Donohill, Donaskeigh, and Greenane. Indeed it seems to have extended into the county of Limerick, and to have been quite an important territory if we are to judge from Speed's map of " Mounster " in which it is shown as "Onoght". Greenane was the "Grianan" of the Eoganacht here, that is to say, their women's summer residence or bower. Around Greenane are scattered many raths and remains of earthen structures within a circuit of a mile or two.

A branch of the Dal-gCais held the adjoining glen of Aherlow, and another the territory of Coonagh, or Ua Cuanach, on the borders of the present counties of Tipperary and Limerick.

Greenane was described as Grennanonaght as late as the time of Charles I. in a patent, as we may perhaps see. The name " Onaght ", once so well known, has vanished entirely from the district nowadays.

Very curious earthen remains of a little settlement survive near Greenane, to the east of Friarsfield House. A shallow lake seems to have been formed by the backwater of a little stream, along the edge of which circular and square mounds were raised, being surrounded by the water. On one there was once a little church, on another a circular stone building or clochan and some irregular earthen banks along the lake edge, and a large rath indicates that the place held a population once. This was probably the colony attached to the Grianan, if not the Grianan itself. The lake

has now vanished by draining, but the old people used to say that the town of Tipperary was once at Greenane. The settlement probably lasted down to a comparatively late period, as the Norman appellation Friarsfield would indicate, and the reference to Grennanonaght in the time of James I. Its remains are characteristically Irish, however, in appearance.

It was these dwellers in these pleasant places that hastened to meet St. Patrick when he stopped at Corroge, a mile or more distant, on his journey to Cullen and Ardpatrick. Pagans they were, though not very much is now known of the gods that they worshipped. They were a soldierly race, with knowledge of arts and crafts and laws of their own, and must have delighted the heart of the saint when they listened to him and knelt to the Christ whose coming he preached.

A few centuries later the Danes came and swarmed over the land, oppressing Eoganacht and Dal-gCais alike, until King Brian came to his own. He fought a preliminary successful skirmish with those pestilent invaders at this same Corroge, just before the important battle of Sulcoit (Sologhead) where he first broke the power of the Danes in Munster. They had been summoned from far and wide to these Corroge hills as a gathering-place. Their princes and chiefs led them from their sea settlements at Waterford, Cork, and Limerick. Brian must have manœuvred them out of their strong position at Corroge to Sologhead three miles away, attacked them there, and drove them into and beyond Limerick city in hopeless defeat.

When he completed his task and broke their power for ever at Clontarf he was high King of Ireland. After his death his descendants disputed the royal inheritance for more than a hundred years, and the land was torn and racked by incessant warfare.

There was a battle of Slieve Grot in A.D. 1056. It was preceded by a " wonderful great snow " according to the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*. Detailed accounts of the fight, or its locality, are wanting, but it was fought between Donnchadh, or Donough, son to Brian, and King of Munster, and the forces of Leinster and Connaught commanded by his nephew, Torlogh, and Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, and ended in the complete defeat of Donough, who, after some more disastrous battles, retired a few years later into a monastery at Rome and ended his life there.

The son of Mael-na-mbo, Lord of Leinster and of the foreigners (*i.e.* what was left of the Danes), followed up this victory six years later by proceeding to Munster about All Hallowtide in 1062, and making a bloody slaughter of the Munstermen at Cnamhcoill (the hill of Corroge again) and " burning the plain of Munster, both houses and corn ".[1]

[1] *Annals of the Four Masters.*

This Mael-na-mbo was married to a grand-daughter of Brian Boroimhe. He was King of Leinster, and subsequently King of Ireland. His grandson, Morrogh, was the ancestor of the Mac Murroughs, and grandfather to that Dermot Mac Murrough—Dermot of the Foreigners —who brought the English invaders to Ireland.

Torlogh was the son of Tadg, the son of Brian

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

Little more than a century later the invaders came. The Eoganacht of this pleasant district must have learned from Cashel of the quarrel of the Leinster king, Dermot Mac Murrough, and of his being driven forth from the country. Then rumours would find their way through of landings and battles near Waterford and Wexford and of the advance along the Suir, by Clonmel and Knockgraffon, of those splendid mail-clad knights and men-at-arms with their troops of archers. At the outset these warriors, trained in the art of soldiering in the schools of a race that had swept in conquest over nearly all Europe, made short work of the opposition of a foe who despised defensive armour and fighting on horseback. The short bows, battle-axes, and light spears of the Irish, who relied overmuch upon personal agility in their combats, afforded poor means of defence against these formidable invaders. The Irish were literally swept from the field.

Doubtless there were many skirmishes, but the English secured the line of the Suir, setting up fortified camps at the main fords and swept on

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Boroimhe. By these victories he became paramount in southern Ireland.

The unfortunate Donogh, Brian's son, was married to the daughter of Earl Godwin, the sister of Harold who was overthrown by William the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings, where accordingly it is not at all unlikely that some Irish adventurers from Munster were present. Harold had taken refuge at Donogh's Court at one time during the reign of Edward the Confessor.

over Muskry and the Eoganacht territories on their way to Limerick, driving out the native owners.

The Eoganacht are recorded to have retired into West Cork and southern Kerry, the Dal-gCais to Clare or Thomond. The O'Briens, however, seem to have continued to hold Dungrud in Aherlow, which did not lie in the path of the English. Many of the native Irish of lesser rank must have remained amongst the isolated valleys and woods, for their names are found in the district still.[1]

Amongst the first of these invaders was Maurice " Fitzgerald ", that is " fils " or son of Gerald of Windsor. His force came in two ships to Wexford. It consisted of ten knights, thirty archers, and about one hundred footmen.

When the English had overcome the first opposition of the Irish, they seized upon prominent strategic points and fortified them. One of these was Knockgraffon on the Suir, between Cashel and Cahir, from which they drove out the O'Sullivans. Here they constructed a " castrum " or fortified enclosure, commanding the important ford. From this place their warders looked out upon the Galtees over the territory of Muskry Quirke and the vale of Aherlow, where the sound of their hunting horns must often have waked the wood-

[1] Quirkes are still plentiful in Muskry Quirke, and O'Sullivans and McCarthys are not scarce. The O'Dwyers held on to Kilnemanagh too, and there are other pre-Norman names to be found, such as Lonergans, MacGraths, Kirbys, etc.

land echoes and startled the wild kern lurking in their mountain lairs and fastnesses.

Knockgraffon was held at first by Worcesters and de Braoses (Bruces), and finally came into the hands of the Ormonds. The de Burgos or Burkes ultimately acquired the adjoining Muskry Quirke and most of the lands now included in the barony of East Clanwilliam, in which the town of Tipperary is situated. The name of "Clanwilliam" is indeed derived from William de Burgo, one of the heads of that family.[1]

What the Eoganacht princes and chiefs dwelling in this pleasant land must have thought when the first rumours of the landing of these invaders reached them is difficult to conjecture now. It must have seemed to them that the wild atmosphere of magic and enchantment, which enwrapped the stories of love and combat that had come down from their ancestors, still existed. Otherwise how could a few mail-clad warriors and men-at-arms attack and defeat ten times their

[1] In various entries in the Fiants of Queen Elizabeth's time the Bourkes are recorded as holding possessions in the barony of Clanwilliam and the adjacent districts:

Swiffin or Suyfin (Suidhe Finn at Kilshane), 8th part of Breuis (Bruis) and of Balliglasse Ieghteragh, Ballinleenty, Clequill and Corrogs (Cleghile and Corroge); half the lands of Brensagh and all the lands of Clonepache (Clonpet), Cappagh (Uniacke); Towrin (Toureen); Lismackee, or Lis McEa (Lismacue); Ballimackeadee and Kilnecaskie; Areleman (near Cullen); Inchenagoneeny; Coline (Cullen); Pallis, Ballynoe, etc. Of course this is not a complete list of their possessions even at that time.

number of brave-enough Irishmen again and again? For the light arrows and javelins of the latter fell harmlessly enough on the shields and armour of their opponents, and their swiftness on foot was useless in the open plains against mounted riders. Doubtless they tried an occasional skirmish with disastrous results, but they were compelled to submit wherever these invaders came, or flee to the woods and mountains where they could fight on more equal terms. Almost at once this Eoganacht territory fell into the hands of the English. Cashel had been granted to the Church and escaped confiscation. Its Irish lords had their pleasure grounds and summer dwellings here and at Aherlow, as well as along the banks of the Suir to Knockgraffon, and their hunting grounds in the woods that then abounded.

TIPPERARY

Something more than a mile south of the Grianan of the Eoganacht two green hill ranges, running at right angles, enclose an undulating space falling away towards the river Ara. This is the site of the present town of Tipperary. Near that stream a remarkable well existed, and the many remains of raths, earthworks, and orientated standing-stones prove that it was considered an important centre in old Irish times. The well was remarkable for the volume of the sparkling water which issued from it. It once flowed to the south of where the centre of the main street stands now, but it has vanished, or rather broken out elsewhere,

at the modern church well, a few hundred yards away.

To the old well, which was called Tiobrad Arann, the name of the town and of the county is supposed to be traceable.

There was no town there when the English arrived. The district was merely a part of, or an adjunct to, the rich Eoganacht land. The only remnant of the first English onset is the hill-fort on Tipperary Hills near Kingswell. This is palpably an earthwork of the type constructed by the early Anglo-Norman invaders.[1]

This fort had one weakness, however. It had no water supply within its enclosure, though it looks down upon Carronreddy lake, and almost in its shadow there lay another remarkable well.[2] This was known within living memory as Tubber Breen, or Tubber Brian, the tradition attached to it being that Brian Boroimhe had washed his wounds there after the great battle of Sologhead, which was fought about three miles away.

Now the derivation of the name " Tipperary " from " Tiobraid Arann ", the well of Ara, seems so unsatisfactory, as far as the sounds of the words

[1] It contains the characteristic mote with a bailey at a lower level, all surrounded by an outer fosse and bank. Palisaded as it must have been on crests and rampart, and crowned with a small stone or wooden tower, with a wooden footbridge joining the two hillocks, as was the fashion in these structures, it would form a much stronger military position than any of the native Irish earthen structures now remaining in the neighbourhood.

[2] On the present Kingswell grounds. It is now closed up, however.

are concerned, that it is not unjustifiable to glance at another possibility. That is, that the English on their first arrival named the place from the well of their own fortress (Tubber Bryan), which was also more than probably called Tubber na Righ or Tubberarigh, the well of the king. The modern name of this place is Kingswell, and this name is known to have been applied to the lands there more than a hundred and fifty years ago. Moreover the mote-fortress has no other name. It stands in the small townland of Tipperary Hills, and there is no scrap of Irish nomenclature now attached to the place.[1]

[1] It is true that a man named King is traditionally credited with having owned the Kingswell demesne at one time, and given it its name. This would be a remarkable coincidence if true, and if the above suggestion be well founded. But the coincidence is there in any case. For even if "Tipperary" be derived from "Tiobrad Arann" it would be very curious that a "King" should own King Brian's well. The place was called "Sadleir's Well" for a time, after the name of a local family who held it, but Kingswell is the older name, now revived. In some of its deeds and papers there is a reference to "Marshal's Fort", probably the very mote-fortress under discussion.

At any rate the accepted derivation of the name Tipperary is unsatisfactory phonetically. The old English records spell Irish names in the weirdest fashion and often in many different ways, but they usually manage to convey some approach to an idea of the pronunciation of the words by the Irish. There was another large "Tiobraid Arann" near Thurles. In modern English it is "Tubberadora", which renders the Irish pronunciation fairly enough. If "Tipperary" be derived from "Tiobraid Arann" it is a striking exception to the general rule. It is true that

THE INVASION

When the first of the English invaders came to Munster the Dal-gCais held the rule there. Their prince, Donald O'Brien, was King of Limerick. He had married the daughter of Dermot McMurrough, who brought the English over. There was, however, a tendency by this time to divide Munster between the Dal-gCais and the Eoganacht. The former ruled continuously in Clare, Limerick, and parts of Tipperary. The latter held sway in Cork and Kerry, with territories in Tipperary as well. Donald was attacked or threatened by Roderic O'Connor, the nominal high King of Ireland, owing to his relationship with Dermot McMurrogh, and an English contingent came to his aid. This was probably the first party of the invaders to come to the districts with which we are dealing. They had plenty of Irish help at all times, for the Irish kept up their hereditary quarrels amongst them-

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Joyce gives the latter derivation and states that it is the name used by all the Irish authorities. But that is perhaps easily explained. The Irish writers who mention the place existed some centuries after the conquest. By that time the mote-fortress would have lost its importance, and the later town have grown up round the Abbey built near the river banks in the neighbourhood of Tiobraid Arann. This would give them the name for the place. In English the other name would have been fixed by the first records some centuries previously. Keating and the Four Masters are, no doubt, Joyce's chief authorities. But these wrote four hundred years after the English had named their settlement. The two wells are about a mile apart.

selves, blind to the foreign danger that threatened them.

King Henry II. soon cast jealous eyes on the fair land on which his subjects had secured a footing. He assembled an army so considerable, so well furnished, and so experienced in warfare, that no single Irish chieftain could dream of resisting him. He had about 500 knights and 4000 men-at-arms, the whole being conveyed in a fleet of 240 ships. He landed at Waterford on October 18, 1172.

The accounts of some of the contractors for the requirements of his army still exist. They show that he brought large supplies of corn (and hand-mills for grinding it), hogs, beans, and cheese. Also pickaxes and spades (for raising motes and earthworks, no doubt) by the thousand, axes, nails, and two wooden towers. He had plentiful supplies of clothing material as well, and a quantity of wine.

On the day after his arrival the chief of the Eoganacht, Dermot McCarthy, came to Waterford and tendered his submission, handing up the keys of his city of Cork.

This prompt submission must have been pre-arranged. There had not been time for the King's great force to inspire terror. The truth seems to have been that the Irish chieftains were anxious to secure the aid and countenance of these valiant newcomers in their own particular and private quarrels with one another. These, like the struggle between the Eoganacht and the Dal-gCais, were of age-long continuance and

considerable bitterness. Henry marched to Lismore and thence to Cashel, where Donald O'Brien, King of Thomond, submitted to him similarly.

The submission of these princely leaders was followed by that of all the minor Munster chieftains. Judging by subsequent events it is extremely improbable that these had even the haziest notion of what submission and homage implied according to the feudal ideas that prevailed in England.

They had all been accustomed to render a nominal allegiance of a free-and-easy kind to their own high or provincial kings. This was marked not so much by the payment of tribute as by an annual exchange of gifts. And their allegiance never prevented them from refusing obedience or the payment of taxes and imposts whenever they felt strong enough and saw any reason for refusing to do so. Their lands belonged to the whole people, and could not be taken for any sin of the chief alone. Of the bonds of feudal laws and customs they had not the faintest conception. These things were totally out of harmony with their ancient Brehon laws, and their ideas of land ownership and personal freedom. It seems clear that they never accepted the new system, and the constant attempts to enforce it are really mainly responsible for the sporadic warlike resistance which lasted in one shape or another for seven centuries.

After the submissions to Henry the Irish chieftains returned to their own territories. In some they ruled much as before the King's advent. In

others, where the English were in strong military force, they found themselves dispossessed and driven from their territories. The people of lesser degree must have remained where they were—frequently, however, as tenants and cultivators of the land under the English owners. This appears to have been the case in the territory of Eoganacht in the Tipperary district. Meantime grants of great principalities were being constantly made in other districts over the heads of the Irish chieftains to the English adventurers.[1] The former owners submitted to the spoliations or paid no attention to them, according to their strength.

The state of affairs in Ireland after the return of the English King to his own country is wrapped in some obscurity. The English records confine themselves to the affairs of the English invaders, rarely mentioning any Irishman. On the other hand, the Irish Annals deal mainly with the records of the native Irish, speaking of "kings" of Ireland, of Desmond (McCarthy), of Thomond (O'Brien), and many other kings and chieftains. These often fought the English, sometimes with marked success, and sometimes suffering severe

[1] King Henry is said to have claimed the right to distribute these lands on the strength of a bull from Pope Adrian, based upon a gift of all the western islands from the Emperor Constantine to the popes. It is unlikely that this shadowy claim ever influenced the Irish chieftains much. They knew quite well, no doubt, that neither Pope nor Emperor could give away that which did not belong to him. That is, if the bull ever existed—a matter not undisputed.

defeats. There was no unity amongst the Irish, however, and a sort of civil war went merrily on, in which they all attacked one another, the English taking now one side and now another, but always strengthening their grip on the land.

In 1185 King Henry sent his son John, Earl of Morton, to Ireland. The chieftains of the Eoganacht were very probably at Cashel when that prince came to the place with a train of gay young courtiers, and met a gathering of Irish nobles there.

Amused by the supposed barbarism of the native chiefs, whose language and garb seemed as strange to the English as theirs doubtless did to the Irish, these youngsters made the mistake of thinking that the latter were dull savages who could be insulted with impunity. They proceeded to mock the natives and play tricks upon them, even pulling the long beards of the elders.

Very likely William de Braose (or de Breouse = Bruce) was there. He was a noted favourite of John's, and we shall hear more of him. It is curious to think of this English prince, whose primitive savage and cruel instincts are illustrated by only too many brutal deeds recorded of him, mocking those Irish chieftains for their lack of culture. They were merely the principal men of a race that had sent missionaries all over Europe, and teachers to her most important universities. A king of France had chosen to ask this people for a tutor for his son.

They had their code of settled laws of a misty antiquity, and they had produced the Book of

Kells, and the Cross of Cong, but the princes of their race were no better than barbarians to this very foolish son of England's king and his youthful associates.

The Irish retired in disgust from the assembly, and many of them threw off their allegiance.

Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, was at war with the English in 1192, aided by the McCarthys of Eoganacht. In a raiding expedition against him in that year the invaders erected "castles" at Knockgraffon and Kilfeakle, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

There is a steep hill on the road from Tipperary to Cashel, about four miles from the former town, and the same distance from Aherlow glen. On its summit by the roadside stands a double mote of the customary Norman type, with some traces of stonework piers, where its footbridge would have stood. This is the well-known mote of Kilfeakle, and almost certainly the remains of the English fortress of 1192.

It is curious to look upon it now and remember that it was very probably erected when Cœur de Lion was king, about the time when he was fighting for his life on his retreat from Jerusalem, in the last phases of his crusading adventure. The first of the de Burgos, and ancestor of all the Burkes, William Fitzadelm, probably constructed it. At any rate he held it in the early days of the invasion, and must often have looked out from the tower then standing on its crest towards the other fortress on Tipperary Hills, or even reddened the sky with his fire-signals in warning to the soldiers there.

THE MOTE OF KILFEAKLE.

Almost certainly part of the "castle" referred to by the Four Masters as erected in 1192. The secondary mote or bailey is almost hidden by trees, hiding in its turn the little modern church behind. Between the two mounds a trace of the ancient masonry of the connecting bridge is discernible.

For the Eoganacht did not leave him always in peace. They aided the son of King Donald O'Brien, on one occasion even to attack and burn his mote-castle, though it probably was reconstructed.[1]

Henry II. had granted to Philip de Breouse the district of Limerick with its appendages, which appear to have included the "cantred" of Eoganacht and Knockgraffon, as well as the town of Tipperary.[2]

[1] Though the Eoganacht chieftains retired to their mountain districts in Cork and Kerry they were troublesome to the English for many a century. We read (1216–1217) that their chief had married one Petronilla Bluet, a relative of one of the leaders of the invaders. He is described in the English record as "Dermot Magarthy, King of Cork", notwithstanding the fact that Henry II. had granted the kingdom of Cork to Fitzstephen and de Cogan. Another McCarthy, who was described as King of Desmond, died in 1303. He used a silver seal "of equestrian type".

Hanmer says: "The Carties plaied the divells in Desmond, where they burned, spoiled, preyed and slue many an innocent. They became so strong and prevailed so mightily that for the space (so it is reported) of twelve years the Desmond dare not plow in ground in his own country."

Perhaps the McCarthys thought that they were the "innocent", and that the country was their own, not Desmond's. At any rate they were not exactly people whose beards might be tweaked with impunity by any foolish prince.

[2] In the English records of the time there are many references to the cantred of "Okenach", "Oconach", "Occonath", etc. These almost certainly represent the English attempts at spelling "Eoganacht".

The references are nearly always identifiable with the

In 1200–1201 King John sold the "honour" of Limerick to his favourite, William de Braose (or Breouse), nephew of Philip, for 5000 marks,[1] and an annual rent. This "honour" appears to have included the "castle" of Knockgraffon and the lands around Tipperary, with the cantreds of Muskry and Eoganacht.

William paid £400 of the purchase money, but remained in debt for the balance as well as for five years' rent unpaid. This led to a serious quarrel between the needy King and his favourite.

In 1210 John issued a statement of his case, as William was backed by many powerful nobles. This set forth that when William was about to have his goods distrained in his English possessions for the debt, he removed them. The King then determined to seize his chattels in Wales, but

district in the neighbourhood of Tipperary, though the editor of the records (*C.D.I.*) unaccountably refers them at one time to Conagh, near Bray, and later on, in the days of Otho de Grandison, to Coonagh, a barony in County Limerick. They cannot well be referred to both these places, at any rate. But the varied English spelling does not render the dominant syllable of "Coonagh" at all, whilst it very fairly represents the old Irish pronunciation of "Eoganacht". In later times, in the reign of Elizabeth, the Irish pronunciation seems to have altered a little, for we find the "g" of "Eoganacht" dropped, and the place became "Onaght" or "Onagh" in the English State Papers. A cantred was a large indefinite area about the size of a barony. Originally it was supposed to contain a hundred villages or small settlements.

[1] The mark was worth 13s. 4d. in the money of the time, but from twenty to forty times that in the money of to-day.

William came to him and surrendered his Welsh castles of Hay, Brecon, and Radnor as security for the debt, also mortgaging his lands in England and giving as hostages his son and another for the same purpose.

William seems to have soon changed his mind, however, for he attempted to retake his castles by force, and burnt half the town of Leominster. Then he fled to Ireland, where he was harboured by the great magnates Earl Marshall and the de Lacys. King John raised an army to attack them all, when William came to him again and offered 40,000 marks for peace. He knew his King, but this offer must have been merely marking time, for a man who could not pay 5000 marks could clearly not pay 40,000. The King seems to have been tempted by the big figures, but said that only William's wife, who was in Ireland, could raise this money, and wanted William to go to Ireland with him, whereupon the latter again fled away.

King John then went to Ireland to attack his rebellious barons there and took William's wife prisoner. She offered the 40,000 marks again, with a penalty of 10,000 marks in case of default, but when the time came to pay this impossible sum she said that she had not the money. John then declared William an outlaw. This is founded on the King's version of the occurrences. One would like to hear William's. The latter fled to France and died there. He is said to have been concerned in earlier years in the murder of John's nephew, Arthur, a rival claimant to the throne, as our Shakespere makes known to us. Some

historians state that William's wife and child were starved to death in prison by John. At any rate the King took back his lands into his own hands. This is the first bit of history that we find connected with the English settlements near Tipperary.

On July 13, 1215, King John granted to the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, and to Henry (de Londres), Archbishop of Dublin and justiciary for the King in Ireland, the cantred of "Okonach", with the vill and advowson of "Tibrary" (Tipperary) and the services of the knights of the cantred and the vill. This is the first mention of the town in the English records. This entry is of interest, too, as showing that a "vill", or town of sorts, with a church had sprung up. This probably meant a transfer from the hill-side to the river-bank, though it is probable that the mote-fortress at Kingswell was still used as the "castle" of the town, referred to in subsequent records.

The nobles of the times were turbulent, and gave plenty of trouble to their kings. The story of William de Marisco, or de Mariscis, the next owner of Tipperary, is a good example.

William was the son of Geoffrey de Marisco, another favourite of King John. Geoffrey was justiciary or king's lieutenant in Ireland when that monarch died. Under John's successor, Henry III., he retained that position for a considerable time.

The Archbishop of Dublin gave the cantred of "Okenach" to William's wife, Matilda, as a marriage portion, and as the following entries

show, he secured possession of Tipperary also somehow:

"April 16, 1217. The Archbishop of Dublin is to have seisin of 'Tribrary', as William de Breouse had."

"August 27, 1218. The King orders that the justiciary cause to be observed, the boundaries perambulated by order of King Henry II. between the land of Trybary (*sic*) in Munster and the land of the Bishop of Emly, and if any of the land has since then been occupied to the damage of the bishop the justiciary shall cause it to be restored to him in the same integrity as William de Breouse held it, when King John took it into his own hand."

The fat spoils of the hunter are being carved and distributed, but what has become of our poor Eoganacht—meaning the common owners of the land, not merely the chieftains? It is not at all improbable that they took not too unkindly to the position of tenants and soldiers of the new chiefs. These English, though merciless and cruel in battle and foray, were generous enough to their dependents and followers, and stout supporters of their rights against any outsiders. The supplies of men from England were naturally limited, and much of the constant fighting of the time was carried on by Irish soldiers at both sides. But to return to our records (*Calendar Doc. Ireland*):

"June 30, 1226. Grant to William de Mariscis of a yearly fair at his manor of Tiperari, to last for six days before and six days after the Ascension."

William de Mariscis became involved in the rebellion of Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke,

a very powerful nobleman, who was supported by many of the great English lords in Ireland. The rebellion was suppressed mainly by the efforts of the justiciary of the time, Maurice Fitzgerald, and Hubert de Burgh. The King was disposed to deal leniently with the rebels, but the fiery William, having been released in London, slew one Henry Clemens or Clement, a clerk of the justiciary, " in an inn, before the king's gates at Westminster ". Thereupon William was outlawed; all his lands were seized.

This occurred in 1235. The Archbishop of Dublin obtained an order in 1236 to get possession of the " vill of Okenath " which William held of the Archbishop. William took to piracy on the high seas with his brother, and the pursuit became hot, the King even ordering the fitting-out of a small fleet to take him. As the years passed by, however, without his being captured, the business tended to become forgotten. William and his wife had doubtless powerful friends at Court too, for in 1244 Matilda obtained an order to have possession of all the lands which she had brought to her husband on marriage.

This was followed on June 12, 1245, by a more particular order to the justiciary to take over the cantred of " Okonach " from the Archbishop and restore it to Matilda, since William could not forfeit the lands forming his wife's marriage-portion.

A subsequent order to take over the place for the King, until further orders (January 21, 1245–1246), must have ended the Archbishop's rule there. It describes the territory as " the cantred

THE PRIORY OF ST. EDMOND AT ATHASSEL (ATHASSEL ABBEY).

Founded by the de Burgos in the thirteenth century.

of Okenach, with its castle". The vill and castle referred to were, not improbably, those of Tipperary. At any rate "Okenach" or Eoganacht adjoined, if it did not include, Tipperary.

These rich lands around Tipperary were coveted by very great lords and magnates indeed in the first century of the invasion. The de Breouses were royal favourites. The Archbishop, Henry de Londres, and Geoffrey de Marisco, father of William, were justiciaries or chief representatives of the King in Ireland. So was William Fitzadelm de Burgo, who held Kilfeakle. It was probably when engaged on some foray or patrol from his mote-castle there that the latter first saw the rich pastures in the hollows which the river Suir has carved out for itself at Athassel three miles away.

There he founded a great Priory, about the close of the twelfth century, dedicating it to an English saint—Edmond, king and martyr. Fragments of shaft and capital are stored in its ruined vaults to-day. On one or two may be found a small rough carving, in low relief, of the head of a knight wearing the flat-topped headpiece and mailed hood, generally associated with the times of Cœur de Lion and his Crusaders. It is not a far stretch of the imagination to fancy that this is meant as a representation of William Fitzadelm himself. At any rate there is no doubt that he founded and richly endowed this noble Priory to the glory of God and St. Edmond, in days when the faith of men was strong, and all Christians worshipped alike. That is why splendid abbeys sprang up all over the land under the cherishing care of

these invaders. The Irish had, of course, their monasteries previously. But most of the great stone churches or abbeys in Ireland owed their existence to these invaders, or at least to the example which they set. Under the fostering care of William's heirs and successors his Priory grew in wealth and importance. Its possessions were scattered far and wide. Even to-day in Clonmel the name "Prior Park" is a trace of the ownership of this particular place by the Priors of Athassel, and the advowsons of many churches belonged to them. They were peers of Parliament and great temporal lords from the first. It is of interest now to read of one of their monks, Canon Richard, going on some errand to King Henry III. He must have pleased the King—may even have been an old boon companion or favourite warrior, as was often the case with monks of the time—for Henry ordered the town bailiffs of Bristol to pay him 40s. for the expenses of his journey (June 10, 1244), and three days later there was a mandate to the King's treasurer to cause a piece of cloth of gold to be purchased and given to him to be conveyed to his Priory to make a cope "of the king's gift".

The King's cope is dust, no doubt, for many a day, and the turf has crept over the tessellated floors of choir and nave and covered up the ornate tombs of prior and belted earl alike, and nothing remains to tell of the power and wealth and glory of the de Burgos and their abbey in this land of theirs but the widespread ruins of the Priory, unless it be a trace of the name of its founder embodied

in that of the barony in which it stands (Clanwilliam).

They soon, however, exercised a sway far outside Munster, but they retained much of their territories in Tipperary and Limerick, and the numerous Bourkes to be found in those counties to-day owe their family name to the advent of Fitzadelm. Not that they are necessarily all descendants of his. The followers and clansmen of English and Irish nobles of these times must have adopted the names of their chieftains frequently. Otherwise all our Irish people are descended from princes or chieftains, and the common plain people of the past have left no descendants.

In 1242–43 Richard de Burgo, William's successor, held the following property in Munster with the values mentioned (presumably annual): Estclone, £37, 11s. 6½d.; Castle Conign, £57, 10s. 11½d.; Wethemcire, £8, 3s. 3½d. These are now difficult to identify, but the following are well known, and we shall often meet them again: "Kilfecle", £20, 14s.; Burgh of Clonmel, £19, 6s.; manor of "Kilsilan" (Kilsheelan). "The jury says that there are 2½ carucates of land in demesne, yearly worth 100s. The Irish hold 23 carucates worth in all £28, and 4½ vills of land, worth £13; the vill is worth 60s., the land of Balliglassan the like amount, and the fishery 1 mark. (Total) £69, 16s."[1]

[1] The "carucate" was as much land as may be tilled in a year and a day by one plough. It was declared to be 100 acres in the time of Edward II. The large holding

Some other lands to the values of £7, 8s. 2½d. and 2½ marks are then mentioned, the whole being two-thirds of Richard's holdings in Munster, and amounting to £221, 16s. 8d. per annum, equal possibly to anything from £5000 to £8000 a year nowadays. It is worthy of note also that Clonmel had not then attained the important position it subsequently acquired. Both Kilsheelan and Kilfeakle were then more valuable.

About 1264 Walter de Burgh obtained the "county of Ulster" from Prince Edward, in exchange for the manor of Kilsheelan, and probably for the vills of Kilfeakle and Clonmel, and the lands of Estremoy and Owney (in the county of Limerick). He thus became Earl of Ulster.

In 1281 these lands were granted by Edward I., now King, to a favoured warrior amongst his followers, Otho de Grandison.

Aherlow is mentioned for the first time in these English State Papers in 1244, when King Henry wrote to twenty-one Irish kinglets, as well as to several of his own nobles, praying their aid in person and with their forces in a war that he was about to undertake against Scotland. Eoganacht and Dal-gCais were on the list, for amongst the names of those who received those personal letters from the King were "Conehor O'Brien, son of Duncan Carbrach de Thodmond", "Corma-

by the native Irish at Kilsheelan is notable. This was a thoroughly conquered and occupied district. Yet the native Irish were not expelled, but were apparently retained as tenants and occupiers of eleven-twelfths of the land.

clethan, Maccardhy de Dessemon", and "Murchod MacBriun de Natherlach ".[1]

The Scotch war, however, never came off, for the King of Scotland made peace.

OTHO DE GRANDISON

The town of Tipperary had become important and prosperous by the time of Edward I. It had given a name to the county, and the county court was held there. Cashel was, of course, a more ancient and important centre, but it was an ecclesiastical city at that time, its ownership being vested in the Church, so that it was probably thought desirable to have a secular centre for the King's court and county government.

Great tracts of land in South Tipperary had fallen into the King's hands. The de Burgos, as we have seen, had given up to him Clonmel, Kilsheelan, and Kilfeakle. The cantreds of Muskry and Eoganacht had been forfeited by rebellion by the occupier, and secured from the direct owner by exchange.

Fertile lands like these rarely remained long in the hands of a king in those days. Many nobles and warriors were employed upon his business or as leaders of his armies, and it was often necessary to purchase their support or reward their friendship by large grants of lands and valuable feudal rights and privileges.

[1] "Natherlach" or "Natherlak" was the usual form of English attempt at pronouncing "Na Eatherlach" or "of Aherlow" in those days.

Otho de Grandison was one of King Edward's trusted friends and warriors, and must have cut a splendid figure in those days. He wore "eagles in his arms". He appears to have travelled far and wide on the King's business. He was more than once in France, and journeyed to Rome to arrange with the Pope about the King's part in the Crusade. In 1283 he led the royal troops in Wales with John de Vescy on the "march along the coast to Bangor, Carnarvon, and Harlech", and was appointed Constable (probably at Carnarvon).

Edward, casting about for something with which to reward this valued supporter, found it in these Tipperary lands.

Sir John Davies says [1] that Otho de Grandison obtained a grant of all Tipperary. This is certainly an exaggeration. It is quite clear, however, that he obtained a very large part of South Tipperary, including the vills or towns of Clonmel, Kilsheelan, Kilfeakle, Tipperary, and Carrick. He also appears to have had rights over Ardmayle, where a mote of Norman type remains to witness to the control of the early invaders and their command of the passage over the river Suir there.[2]

[1] *A Discovery of the True Cause*, etc., p. 103, 1787 edition.

[2] The following are taken from Sweetman's *Cal. Doc. Ireland*:

July 26, 1281. Grant in tail to Otho Grandison "for his service to the King from their youth of the castle, cantred, and land of Hokonagh (*sic*), the vill of Tipperary,

Otho was altogether too busily engaged to settle down as an Irish landlord. He placed his relatives and followers in charge of his manors and domains in Ireland, and leased the chief rights over much of his territory to William de Clifford, Bishop of Emly, in January 1286–1287 for ten years at £500 a year.

These lands were described: "all his lands and tenements in the cantreds of Okenahc, Ysweyn,[1] and Muskerry." Apparently he raised money for his varied travels on the letting, from the people who did that kind of business in those days. These were Italian merchants banded together in associations or companies who appear to have had representatives with supplies of gold, ready to lend to kings and great lords on good security, in all the large cities of Western Europe. To these Otho, and for that matter his King, applied when

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the land of Muskerry, the manor of Kilsylan and the vill of Clonmel, all belonging to the King, and which Otho previously held for his life of the King's gift, and had lately surrendered."

Similar grant of Estremoy, Otho rendering for the whole the service of two knights' fees. It was perhaps characteristic that the Irish Government tried to make Otho pay seventeen knights' fees, but the King put a stop to the attempt when appealed to. Estremoy (Aes tri muighe) is the Co. Limerick barony of West Clanwilliam of to-day, roughly.

It is rather notable that the vill of Okenath and the vill of Tipperary are never mentioned together. They may be the same.

[1] Sometimes called Yfweyn, now seemingly unidentifiable.

money was needed, and the need was as constant then as now. In this transaction one Bendinus Panuk and his associates, merchants of Lucca (in Tuscany), were the lenders.

It proved an unfortunate business for the bishop. In those days the Church wielded much temporal power. Bishops were not only spiritual guides, but great lords and pillars of the State. They were often appointed to great posts under the King. As we have seen, the Archbishop of Dublin was his justiciary or deputy in Ireland. Stephen de Fulburne, Bishop of Waterford, filled the same position under Henry III. up to the time of his death.

And the English got their own bishops appointed to replace those of Irish birth whenever an Irish see under their control was vacant.

William de Clifford was appointed in this way. On the death of his predecessor, the chapter of Emly was divided in its support of two rival candidates. Both were set aside and William nominated. He immediately sought to acquire landed interests and took the lease from Otho, as well as the manor of Natherlach (Aherlow) from the King.

The centre of this manor was probably Galbally (the town of the "Gaill" or strangers). This belonged to Sir Thomas de Multon, who died. During the minority of his heir it was in the King's possession, according to the feudal custom.

The bishop's incursions into temporal affairs ended unhappily. He did not secure at once the revenues of his benefice for some reason or other, whereupon he failed to pay his rent. The sheriff

seized his crops (corn) and goods at Emly and elsewhere, to satisfy his debt to Otho's representatives, the merchants of Lucca, dwelling in Dublin.

Another curious dispute arose about the manor of Aherlow with the King's representatives who wanted to raise its valuation and rental. The latter seized on the bishop's rights. Hence the following complaint: "Whereas in the manor of Netherlak it was the custom that a thief convicted of larceny whereby he has to undergo judgment, should not be released for less than 5 marks (£3, 6s. 8d.) or should be hanged, the escheator" (who had, it was alleged, usurped the bishop's rights) "permitted a thief convicted of larceny in the full hundred [1] to go, for five shillings, and gave him his life", to the damage of the King and the rights of the manor.

This throws a curious light on the powers of these lords of manors, even in questions of life and death. Another extract informs us that this desperate criminal was a shepherd who had stolen a sheep worth 6d. in the money of that time. On being captured and brought before the manorial court of "the hundred" he "made a fine for 5s., though he had nothing, and paid the fine through assistance given to him out of charity through the country".

Another Irishman being indicted for larceny was distrained by the bishop (apparently this was Brehon law procedure), but forcibly dispossessed the bishop's servant and then paid a fine of 40s. to

[1] *i.e.* in the local court.

settle the matter. However, he complained to the government official, the escheator, who thereupon took the courts into his own control.

Even this did not end the bishop's troubles. The King had commanded him at his departure from Gascony to inquire when he arrived in Ireland into the state of the country, and to report thereon. One William de Drayton, "who represented himself as of the family of Sir Otho de Grandison, came to the bishop and told him quickly to go to the King, his lord, in parts beyond the sea. William asked the bishop if he wished to send any letter to his lord, and faithfully promised to act as the bishop's messenger in those parts. The bishop delivered to him, inclosed in a box sealed with the bishop's seal, a letter to the bishop of Bath on the state of affairs, with two other letters to Sir Otho and the chancellor, together with an account of his expenses. William then departed, went to the treasurer at Dublin, opened the box and caused the letters of advice of the state of affairs, and those to Sir Otho and the chancellor, to be read. After the letter on the state of affairs had been shown the treasurer never ceased to oppress and ruin the bishop as far as he could. When the treasurer had seen the letters William returned the box to the bishop unsealed and the letters to Sir Otho and the chancellor opened, with the excuse that he did not know who had opened the box and the letters; but he openly told the bishop that this deceit had been practised on him in the treasurer's chamber. . . . It is clear that this breach of trust to the King and the bishop

was made by collusion between the treasurer and William, because they had previously been at discord and ever after William wore the robes of the treasurer." [1]

We need not wonder that the bishop had an uncomfortable time subsequently. William's defence was an admission that he had got the box with the letters; that he lost the box at Clonmel where the assizes were being taken before the justices; that he offered half a mark reward for its recovery, and that it was found in the hands of children who had opened it and broken the seals.

Human nature has changed very little, and the curiosity of children is eternal and the confidence trick as old as the hills. William's arrest was ordered. He was really Otho's representative, and acted in that capacity at a later stage. He seems to have secured his acquittal somehow, very probably through his chieftain's influence.

The State Papers afford us only occasional glimpses of Otho. A shutter lifts as it were for a moment and closes again. Very likely his knights and friends occupied his manors and ruled over his vills, paying him due rents and duties. As very few stone houses outside the towns remain from the thirteenth century or previously, it is probable that they dwelt in wooden houses surrounded by defensive stockaded enclosures. Each in his manor maintained his mixed force of English and Irish soldiery. Whatever quarrels they had amongst themselves they must have been always

[1] *C.D.I.* vol. iii. pp. 262-263.

ready to unite against the natives. These, however, being chieftainless and unable to contend with the skilful well-armed English, seem to have submitted quietly enough to be ranked as tenants and farmers of the domains that were once their own.

Otho seems to have had no sons, if he were ever married, for the next glimpse we get of him (1290) reveals a grant of his lands of Estremoy and Owney in the county of Limerick for his own lifetime to Sir Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, at a rent of £72. This was a mere rental, but Otho had evidently determined to dispose of most of his lands, because less than a month afterwards he granted the full rights over the same property to his nephew, Peter de Wypeyns, with remainder to his nephew, Gerard de Crous. Peter went crusading shortly afterwards.

At the same time Otho granted to his brother, Sir William de Grandison, the castle and vill of "Kilseacle" (Kilfeacle), the manor of Kilsheelan and the vill of Clonmel.

This was the property so fiercely disputed afterwards, as we shall see, by the Earls of Ormond and Desmond.

Otho appears to have retained for himself the "cantred and land of Okonagh, the vill of Tipperary and the land of Muskerry".[1]

Probably Sir Otho went on the Crusade with his nephew, because it must have been in his absence that cause for the following complaint arose (July 6, 1297).

The King tells John de Wogan, his justiciary in

[1] *C.D.I.* vol. iii. pp. 681, 705, 732.

Ireland, that Otho de Grandison had shown that the county court of Tipperary " was always wont from time whereof there is no memory to be held in the vill of Tipperary, until the Archbishop of Cashel by tolerance of Stephen de Fulburne, late Archbishop of Tuam (and, we might add, once bishop of Waterford and justiciary of Ireland), caused the county court to be removed from Tipperary to his vill of Cashel ". The King ordered the justiciary, if this were so, to bring back the county court to Tipperary, and issued the order personally instead of depending on others, so that his favoured knight probably received full satisfaction in the matter.

It was probably by Otho's influence, too, that the following curious charter was granted on June 13, 1300. The duties on shipping are rather humorous considering that the Ara stream, on which the town is built, could not float a small boat. Very probably the Chancellor, or whoever it was with whom it lay to direct the issue of such charters, said to his clerk, " copy such and such a charter ", naming that of some seaport town similar to Tipperary, except as to its position on the sea-coast.

" Grant to the bailiffs and good men of the vill (town) of Tipperary that they may take from inward and outward merchandise for ten years from the day of the making of these presents, in aid of the enclosing of the vill, for the greater security of that vill and the adjacent parts, the following customs, viz. from each hogshead of wine for sale 2d.; each dicker of hides for sale 1d.;

each crannoc of corn of whatsoever kind ¼d.; each crannoc of salt ¼d.; each crannoc of flour ¼d.; each dicker of goat hides ½d.; each band of iron ½d.; each marcate of worked iron ½d.; each sack of wool 2d.; each cow 1d.; each ox 1d.; each horse or mare 1d.; each hog ¼d.; eight (each) two years old 1d.; each piece of Irish cloth ¼d.; each cart-load of lead 2d.; each hundred of wax 1½d.; each crannoc of wood 2d.; 190 lbs. alum 1d.; 200 boards ¼d. ½ marcate of mercery and bateria ¼d.; each load of worked iron ½d.; each French mill-stone 1d.; each English do. ½d.; each piece of foreign linen cloth ½d.; each hundred of canvas ½d.; each weight of tallow ½d.; each ship of the burthen of 400 hogsheads of wine, with whatever merchandise laden, 16s.; each ship called farecost 8d.; and skins worth 5s., ½d."

The general terms of the charter, however, give us an idea of the commerce of the time. The Irish as well as the English settlers brought in their horses, cattle, and corn, as well as hides, tallow, and wool to the town for sale, and bought there clothing materials and iron tools or weapons, as well as such things as salt and alum, and if they were well off, a hogshead of wine now and again.

It is probable enough that the customs were collected, though it is unlikely that the town walls were ever built, judging by subsequent history.

In 1305 Robert de Halliwell was arraigned before the King and his Council and "inculpated for having led a multitude of armed men into Otho de Grandison's vill of Tipperary by which leading divers contentions arose in the vill in which six

men of Otho were killed, and afterwards malefactors led by Robert aforesaid attracted and collected a large multitude and burned, destroyed, and sacked Otho's lands and also the King's lands, etc., etc., in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, causing damage placed at more than £10,000". The result does not appear. No doubt Robert was duly punished. Otho was not a man whose town could be raided and territories ravaged without penalty.

In the same year, in October, all pleas in Otho's law cases were suspended, as he was absent in foreign parts by the King's mandate.

In June 1307 he got a protection for the purpose of departing on the King's service "beyond the sea".

And then our shutter closes down on Otho, and we see him no more. He may have died "beyond the sea". His heirs held some of his lands, and the name of the castle of Grantstown, not far from Kilfeakle, is said to have been derived from this family. It may be so, as there is no record of any Grant as a prominent settler in this spot.

In 1338 his heirs sold their rights over Kilsheelan and Clonmel, and probably Kilfeakle as well,[1] to the Desmonds. This was a transaction fraught with importance for the Geraldines and all the people of the districts with which we are dealing. It was one of the main causes that led to the ruin of the Desmonds, and the terrible sufferings of their English and Irish followers.

[1] The three places seem to have been always bracketed together. Indeed the Carrick if not the Kilsheelan tenants came to Kilfeakle to pay their dues.

In 1339 there was a quarrel as to the headship of their sept between the leaders of the Dalcassians, who were very powerful in Thomond. Bryan O'Brien claimed the position, his opponents being aided by the English. Whereupon Bryan swept in furious wrath over the young English settlements in Limerick and Tipperary, burning and, no doubt, plundering Tipperary and Athassel. These were probably unwalled towns. If so, the good burghers of Tipperary must have bitterly regretted their neglect to comply with the terms of the charter of Edward I.

And now the shutters close sharply down on more than the tale of Otho. The English State Records simply cease for two hundred years. They are supposed to have been destroyed by fire. Tipperary and Okenach vanish completely from sight. After those two centuries the latter reappears in other forms, the Irish " Eoganacht " having apparently lost or softened down its " g " in those two centuries. It comes to the surface again in the sixteenth century as " Honagh ", " Onagh ", or " Onaght ".

THE GERALDINES

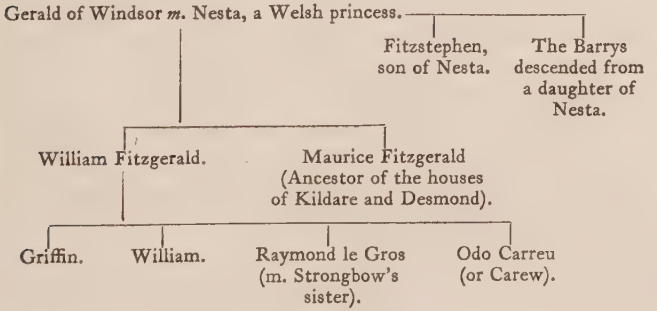
The first adventurous raiders who descended upon Ireland under Strongbow's leadership were accompanied or followed by numbers of brothers, nephews, cousins, or other relatives and connections, who became their officers or tenants in the newly confiscated lands.

In 1176, for example, when Raymond le Gros

came to Waterford to meet William Fitzadelm de Burgo, then newly-appointed justiciary (or King's lieutenant in Ireland), he was accompanied, we are told, by a brilliant company of knights, all of his own kindred, and with the same arms as his blazoned on their shields.

These invaders were greedy for lands and cruel and remorseless in their methods of warfare. Perhaps they had to be. They had usually staked everything upon the adventure and burnt their boats (as Fitzstephen, in fact, literally did at Wexford). But they were gallant fighters and often dragged victory from almost hopeless contests against large odds. Raymond was perhaps the finest soldier of them all. He led the van in forlorn hopes and desperate attacks, and almost incredible stories are told of his adventures. The common soldiers worshipped him, and had even been known to refuse to fight under any other leader.

He was a Geraldine. A glance at the accompanying table of relationship of some of the invaders may prove worth while.


Gerald of Windsor m. Nesta, a Welsh princess.
Fitzstephen, son of Nesta.
The Barrys descended from a daughter of Nesta.
William Fitzgerald.
Maurice Fitzgerald (Ancestor of the houses of Kildare and Desmond).
Griffin.
William.
Raymond le Gros (m. Strongbow's sister).
Odo Carreu (or Carew).

It will be seen from this table that Griffin, Raymond le Gros, and Odo Carew (so-called from the name of his Welsh castle) were brothers, and all as true Geraldines as any Earl of Kildare or of Desmond.

Raymond acquired large territories in Munster and Leinster; as he had no sons they were inherited by the children of his brothers.[1]

For coming to the help of McCarthy More against a rebellious son, Raymond had granted to him a large holding round Lixnaw, in Kerry. This appears to have fallen to the descendants of Griffin, who took the name of Fitzmaurice from one of their chieftains, and became lords of Lixnaw. Other wide territories fell to the descendants of Odo Carew, but these held large properties also in Devon and Wales and, gradually becoming absorbed in their interests there, grew to be absentees from Ireland. Thereupon their tenants and feudatories seem to have taken over their possessions in the latter country. Indeed the English never had possession, at any time, of some of these lands, which were of vast extent, for the Carews must have inherited some of Fitzstephen's lands as well. Their subsequent claims involved all the lands held by the Eoganacht leaders, McCarthys, O'Sullivans, etc. etc., and by the Lords Barry and de Courcy of Kinsale, as well as large territories acquired by the Butlers of Ormond (in Carlow, etc.) and much of the land of the Desmond Geraldines.

[1] See article on "Ardfert Priory, etc.", by Miss Hickson, in *Jour. R.S.A.I.* pt. 3, vol. vi., 5th series.

In Queen Elizabeth's time an attempt was made to revive the claim to these principalities, but it created such an uproar that the Queen had to order its withdrawal peremptorily, as far as the Munster lands were concerned. Incidentally this claim brought Sir George Carew to Ireland. It will be a surprise to many people to learn that he was a Geraldine.

Like trees planted in congenial soil, all these great houses threw out widespreading branches, and soon the land was filled with younger sons and nephews and cousins holding wide territories as tenants or sub-feudatories of the chieftains of their race. Around and amidst them all the native Irish held desperately on. Sometimes they were quite able to hold their own as independent chieftains in reality, but nominally subject. At others they were forced to become feudatories or farmers of the lands which they once owned in chief.

King Henry II. granted the "kingdom of Cork" to Milo de Cogan and Fitzstephen. This was defined as extending "towards the Cape of St. Brandon on the (Kerry) sea-coast, and towards Limerick and other parts, and as far as the water near Lismore (the Blackwater) and which runs between Lismore and Cork and falls into the sea". He reserved the city of Cork and some adjacent territory.

This huge grant represented the greater part of the counties of Cork and Kerry. However, granting was one thing; obtaining possession another. The O'Briens of Thomond had joined the English in driving out the Eoganacht from the Tipperary

plains, and the latter were now concentrated in the mountainous districts that lie along the south-western Irish sea-board. So that neither de Cogan and Fitzstephen nor any of their descendants ever got possession of all these southern lands.

The " kingdom of Cork " was pretty much the same as the ancient South Munster or Desmond (Deis Mumhan). The McCarthys and their allies held most of this firmly for centuries afterwards. So much so that it has been noted as a curious anomaly that " Desmond ", in the particular and ancient sense of the word, came to mean the lands in south-west Munster, *not* ruled by the Earls of Desmond.

On the extinction of the lines of Fitzstephen and de Cogan through the failure of heirs in direct descent, most of their lands in the northern parts of Cork and Kerry came at length into the possession of the heirs of Maurice Fitzgerald.

The early history of this Maurice, who had come over as one of Strongbow's lieutenants amongst the very first invaders, at the head of his thirty knights, is shrouded in some obscurity.

He was granted a large territory, said to amount to 100,000 acres, in Connello in Western Limerick by the King, and he appears to have made good his possession of this county from the first.[1]

He was one of the chief governors of Ireland, and also obtained large grants of lands from

[1] It is probably from his settlement there that the Geraldines got their war-cries of " Shanid Abo " and " Croom-Abo ". Shanid and Croom are in W. Limerick.

Strongbow in Offaly and Kildare. His son became Baron of Naas, and the heir to the latter, another Maurice, who was justiciary in 1229, was created Baron of Offaly. The latter much enhanced his possessions through a quarrel with another nobleman, named de Vesci, who attacked him in the bitterest terms, accusing him of treason and rebellion in the very presence of the King (Henry III.). Fitzgerald retorted as furiously, and challenged his accuser to trial by combat. De Vesci accepted, but fled to France before the appointed day. Thereupon, in accordance with the customs of the time, his lands and honours were forfeited and bestowed on his opponent.

Thus the Geraldines acquired the Maynooth territories, where their descendants, the Dukes of Leinster, still reside.

THE GERALDINES OF DESMOND

Meantime the lands in County Limerick must have fallen into the possession of another son or grandson of Maurice.[1]

There the Geraldines took root and flourished apace, gradually acquiring great domains in Cork, Kerry, and Waterford by inheritance or purchase or marriage or even warfare at times. At length they became predominant in Munster, and asserted a sort of suzerainty over all the Anglo-Irish and native lords or chieftains there. And the great

[1] Or rather, the greater part of them. The Earls of Kildare owned some about Croom and Adare.

district under their control was called Desmond, after the title of their Earl.[1]

They did not always overwhelm their opponents. In 1261 John, the head of the Desmond Fitzgeralds, raided the lands of McCarthy More, and was attacked by the followers of the latter. This occurred at Callan, near Kenmare, where John suffered a disastrous overthrow. He was slain himself, together with his only son. The *Annals* tell us that there fell in this encounter eight barons, five knights, and many gentlemen, besides " innumerable soldiers ".

One strange feature in the story is that McCarthy More was son-in-law to John. Thus early had the great English nobles begun to seek Irish matrimonial alliances, though this was evidently no hindrance to foray or fight. At any rate this encounter seems to have secured the McCarthys and their friends finally, in the possession of nearly all the ancient Desmond. A new Desmond outside this district had to be formed for the Earls of that name, who perforce had to content themselves with a nominal lordship over some of their palatine county of Kerry and much of Cork.

[1] The original Desmond lay along the southern seacoast which runs from Youghal to Tralee. There were in ancient times five Munsters, viz. North Munster or Thomond, East Munster or Ormond, South Munster or Desmond, and Mid-Munster and West Munster. The greater Desmond, of later days absorbed the latter two almost entirely. The Corroges of Cnamhcoill, near Tipperary, were a boundary-mark between Ormond and Mid-Munster.

The territory held now by the Eoganacht was about 2700 square miles in extent. It has been described [1] as nearly half the size of the modern kingdom of Saxony, and almost four times as great as the duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

The McCarthys divided into four great branches, whose chiefs were: (1) the McCarthy More ruling all southern Kerry; (2) McCarthy Reagh, whose territories lay in Carbery, or West Cork; (3) McCarthy of Muskerry, whose home was Blarney Castle; and (4) McCarthy, sometimes called M'Donogh, of Duhallow, the ruins of whose great castle near Kanturk still remain.[2]

Spenser says that at the time of the Wars of the Roses (fifteenth century) "the Irish, whom before they (the English) had banished into the mountains, where they lived only upon white meates, as it is recorded, seeing now their lands so dispeopled and weakened came down into all the plaines adjoyning and thence expelling those few English that remained, repossessed them againe, since which they have remained in them and growing greater, have brought under them many of the English, which were before their Lords. This was one of the occasions by which all those countreys which

[1] *Journal R.S.A.I.* pt. 4, 1906. Article by W. F. Butler, M.A.

[2] All four held English peerages at one time or another. McCarthy More claimed paramount lordship over all the territories of the McCarthys, O'Sullivans, and other Eoganacht chieftains, and exacted certain duties and services from all the above-named until they were abolished by English grant or statute.

lying neere unto any mountains or Irish desarts, had been planted with English, were shortly displanted and lost. As namely in Mounster all the lands adjoining unto Slewlogher, Arlo, and the bog of Allen."

This is vague and not too accurate. It was probably unintelligible to proud Englishmen of Elizabeth's time that the despised Irish could have maintained themselves in the possession of large territories for four centuries in spite of all ruthless efforts to remove them.

But "Arlo" was, as we have seen, well held by the O'Briens in the reign of Henry III., and they were there in Elizabeth's reign. As to Desmond, Grace speaks of a "King of Desmond" in 1327. Indeed the McCarthys were known as "Lords" of Desmond after the Fitzgeralds had been created Earls thereof, and with far better right, if possession be nine points in law. The Earl of Desmond might hold Tralee, but when hunting or hawking on the great hills behind Dingle, he could look across its bay into the ancient Desmond, with its masses of dark purple mountains, and see headland after headland fringed with snowy foam thrusting out into the Atlantic, far away to the south, and know, while he admired the wondrously beautiful scene, that all that land was held by the McCarthys and O'Sullivans, who paid him only such tribute and obedience as he could exact by the sword.

It would not seem strange to him that the people were all Irish speakers or that they were ruled by their own Brehon laws, and wore the distinctive

Irish dress, for by the time that the first Earl of Desmond was created, all these things were true of the Geraldines themselves.[1]

But how could Spenser know all this?

When John Fitzgerald was slain at Callan the only surviving member of his family was his grandson, an infant a year old. When this child grew to manhood he continued to increase the power and possessions of his house, and his son was created first Earl of Desmond in 1329.

The greater Desmond territory came into being about this time. It included all Kerry (nominally), since the Earls were lords palatine of this county with almost kingly powers, a large part of Cork, and portions of Waterford and Limerick. Along its frontiers lay portions of Tipperary (Clonmel, Kilsheelan, and Kilfeakle), over which, as we have seen, the Geraldines acquired rights by purchase from the de Grandisons.

These Geraldines of Desmond, rich and powerful as they were, led no lives of ignoble ease or idleness. Soldiers they were from first to last, and the record of their fighting is continuous. They produced great statesmen too, and were

[1] Some of the English settlers were even proud of their Irish connections. The following is an inscription from a tomb at Caherconlish in that Clanwilliam or Estremoy of the de Burghs which lies in Limerick. "Hunc tumulum Theobaldus Bourke sibi et uxori suae Slany Brien fieri . . . Bourke adsum sobolis Carolina sanguine tincta atque Brianorum. Anno Domini 1441." It is evident that the writer was proud of descent from a branch of the Bourkes with an infusion of the blood of the O'Briens.

often governors or deputies for the King, over all Ireland. The first Earl actually summoned a Parliament in Ireland himself. The King, Edward III., and his councillors had acquired the idea that the lands in Ireland held by the English nobles and settlers there might, with advantage, be transferred to English-born lords. A meeting of the Irish Parliament was called, but the royal summons was not heeded. Then the Earl of Desmond summoned a Parliament at Kilkenny on his own account, which all the nobles attended, and a dignified remonstrance was sent to the King. In the end the obnoxious proposals were abandoned.

The fourth Earl, Garret or Gerald, was reputed to be a wizard. He was also accused, on somewhat better grounds, of being a poet. Tradition connects his name with Lough Gur, on the shores of which are the ruins of a Desmond castle.[1]

Garret's son, John, succeeded him, and was drowned in the Suir, near Ardfinnan, returning from a foray on Ormond territory (in 1426 according to Russell).

Romance was not wanting either in the long history of the Geraldines, for it is related of the sixth Earl that, whilst hunting on the banks of the Feale, near Listowel, he strayed from his companions. Having lost his way, he took refuge, when night fell, in the shieling of one of his humble followers, William McCormack.

McCormack had a beautiful daughter named

[1] The first Earl had started a sanguinary war, in which most of the great nobles of Ireland were involved, because Arnold de Poer called him a Rhymer.

Catherine, with whom the Earl promptly fell in love. Careless of the fierce opposition of his proud kinsmen and officers, he married the young girl and "lost his world" for love. For he was enmeshed in accusations of conspiracy and treason, and as he could rely on few friends or supporters, since all his household were opposed to the unequal marriage, he was ultimately driven into exile in France, the earldom being usurped by James, his uncle. This, be it observed, was quite legitimate according to the Irish custom, which permitted a chieftain to be deposed by his people, but it was quite illegal according to English feudal custom. At any rate the exile died in France (at Rouen, 1420), and had as chief mourner at his funeral no less a person than Henry V., against whom he had been accused of being in rebellion. But those were chivalrous days, and the victor of Agincourt was probably moved by the romantic story and its tragical result, involving the utter ruin of his great vassal.

In 1452 the "son of the Earl" was slain by O'Mulrian of Owney (Abington).

A son of the usurping Earl succeeded him. He was eighth Earl of Desmond, and his history so profoundly affected the fortunes of his house that it is necessary to glance at it even though the districts with which we are dealing were not directly involved.

He was a staunch Yorkist in the Wars of the Roses, and a close personal friend of King Edward IV. He was even godfather to this King's brother, the Duke of Clarence.

Edward once asked his opinion on the method

in which the royal affairs were being managed. Desmond replied that there was only one thing to criticise, namely, the King's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, whom he is said to have stigmatised scornfully as "a tailor's widow". He advised the King to divorce his Queen. Some time afterwards, when Desmond was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and far enough away, in the King's opinion, to be safe from the Queen's wrath, there was a domestic dispute in the royal household, and Edward told his wife in a moment of irritation that he regretted that he had not taken his cousin Desmond's advice.

The Queen naturally never rested until she found out what this advice was. The revengeful lady bided her time until she was able to secure the appointment of one of her creatures, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, as Lord Deputy of Ireland. Then Desmond, with his cousin of Kildare, was arrested on an accusation of alliance, fosterage, and alterage—whatever that may have been—with the Irish enemies of the King. He was found guilty, and it is said that the Queen obtained the King's signet surreptitiously and signed the death-warrant. Thereupon he was executed (February 5, 1469) at Drogheda, to the astonishment and horror not only of his own household, but of all the great nobles in Ireland.

The story runs that the King was exceedingly angry at the death of his friend. The Queen fled from his wrath. Tiptoft was recalled and lost his own head soon afterwards, not without reference to this episode.

But imagine what a wild outburst of anger the

Earl's execution must have provoked amongst his proud kinsmen and followers far away down in Desmond. Their Earl and chief seized upon without a struggle and executed as a common malefactor! What wonder that they broke out into fierce rebellion, and, headed by his sons, laid waste the land with fire and sword, even to the walls of Dublin?

The King, however, sent to remonstrate with them, assuring them that the Earl's death was not to be laid to his charge, and admonishing them as to the serious consequences of their revolt. His messengers of goodwill prevailed. They succeeded in assuaging the anger of the Geraldines for the time. New privileges were granted to them upon this occasion, and their old ones were confirmed, so that their real power was rather enhanced than lessened by the tragedy.

Nevertheless the occurrence left its traces. There was a much more marked tendency to rebellion amongst these Geraldines of Desmond for ever afterwards. They had been bitterly taught not to put their trust in princes.

The Earls' rule of Kerry as a County Palatine was confirmed to them. According to Davies, such rulers "did exercise high justice in all points within their territories, erected courts for criminal and civil causes, and for their own revenues in the same form as the King's courts were established at Dublin; made their own Judges, senes(c)hals, sheriffs, coroners, and escheators, so as the King's writ did not run in these countries".

Davies also tells us that they were granted a

curious privilege at this time, " that the Earls of Desmond should never come to any Parliament or grand council, or within any walled town, but at their will and pleasure ".

It was by means of summons to attend the Lord Deputy that the late Earl had been ensnared to his death. This new privilege was most important for any future Earl of Desmond who might feel inclined to be rebellious. He had in such case only to betake himself to his own territories and ignore all summonses, and there were even wild mountainous parts of Cork and Kerry where no summonses could reach him.

There were too, as we shall see, parts of the rich plains of Limerick where the " English colours had never been seen ". And there was Aherlow, with its impenetrable woods and pure native-Irish inhabitants. Other Anglo-Irish noblemen who proved contumelious were summoned to Court, where they were in the power of their English rulers, or even to an Irish walled town, where the same thing usually befell them.

If the summons were disobeyed they could be proclaimed traitors and attainted. The Desmonds could not well be proclaimed traitors for merely exercising their acknowledged privileges.

The exaction of " coin and livery ", though forbidden by English-made decrees, was practised by all the great Anglo-Irish and Irish chiefs. It meant free billeting, or its money value for soldiers and maintenance for their horses. It is said to have been first raised by Maurice, chief of the Geraldines, in the reign of Edward II. to provide

support for the army which he commanded against Edward Bruce. Davies says that this oppressive tax in a short time banished the greater part of the (English) freeholders out of the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, and enabled Desmond and his kinsmen, allies, and followers to take possession of their lands, Desmond himself taking whatever places he liked for his demesnes and reserving an Irish superiority out of the rest.

However this may have been, the exaction of this impost rendered the great lords far more independent and powerful than they would otherwise have been. Davies, quoting Baron Finglas, says that Maurice Fitzgerald, who first levied it, raised his estate from a value of less than 1000 marks to £10,000 per annum.[1]

THE BUTLERS OF ORMOND

Besides the Bourkes and Fitzgeralds, a third great family, sprung from one of the original invaders, held rule in Munster. Henry II., in his repentance for the murder of Thomas à Becket, conferred valuable favours upon his relatives, appointing Theobald, who was descended from the prelate's sister, his chief Butler (Pincerna).

This was deemed an office of the highest honour. The King himself acted as chief Butler at the coronation of one of his sons.

[1] Baron Finglas, however, says in his "Decay of Ireland" (*Cal. Carew Papers*, p. 7) that James, seventh Earl of Desmond, was the first to exact coin and livery.

Theobald Pincerna or Butler came to Ireland at an early stage of the invasion and received large grants of lands in North Tipperary and Wicklow. He founded the abbey of Owney (Abington) in County Limerick, where he seems to have had some territorial interests.

His descendants always basked in the sunshine of royal favour, and the fourth of these chieftains was appointed Earl of Carrick.

The chief Butlers also had the right of "prisage" of wines, that is of taking from every ship importing more than twenty tuns, two tuns, one from before and the other from behind the mast.

In 1328 the Butler of that day was created Earl of Ormond, and in 1347, for the better support of that dignity, and because of his relationship to King Edward III., was granted for life the regalities, knights' fees, and all other liberties in the county of Tipperary, as well as the prisage of wines in Ireland.

This grant, which was confirmed to his successors, was the origin of the great quarrel between the Ormonds and Desmonds. The former, claiming all the rights and liberties of Tipperary, came into conflict with the latter, who had purchased from the de Grandisons many of those rights as regards Kilsheelan, Clonmel, and Kilfeakle which lie within the county of Tipperary.

Then as to the prisage of wines, the Earls of Desmond chose to exact those rights themselves in their ports of Kinsale and Youghal, and very probably had ancient warrant for doing so.

The quarrel was not acute at first. Desmonds and Ormonds often supported one another and

even fought as allies against that de Poer who called one of the former a Rhymer. And Ormond went to the Parliament summoned by the Earl of Desmond, and there was at least one intermarriage between the houses. But the ashes of the dispute only smouldered. At length they burst into flame, and spread ruin and waste far and wide, terminating only in the final destruction of the house of Desmond.

The first Earl of Ormond married Eleanor Bohun, daughter of the Earl of Hereford, whose wife was a royal princess of England, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Edward I. So from henceforward all the Ormonds have royal blood in their veins.

They took the side of Lancaster in the Wars of the Roses, but not invariably. The fifth Earl was in Towton field and, having been made prisoner there when the Lancastrians were defeated, was beheaded. Yet his brother was a favourite of the Yorkist King Edward IV., who pronounced him to be the "goodliest knight he ever beheld, and the finest gentleman in Christendom", and said that "if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world they might be all found in John of Ormonde".

This John was succeeded by his brother, who left no sons. One of his daughters was mother to Sir Thomas Bullen, Earl of Wilts, who was created Earl of Ormond, through his mother's right. Anne Bullen or Boleyn was the daughter of this Earl. To her, and through her to her husband Henry VIII., came all the rights of the Ormond heirs.

A nephew of the seventh Earl, however, remained. He was Sir Piers or Pierce Butler, the heir male of the family. He was created Earl of Ossory at first, but ultimately the earldom of Ormond and its possessions were restored to him by the King. By this time the Butlers had acquired large possessions in Kilkenny and Carlow, in addition to their Tipperary holdings.

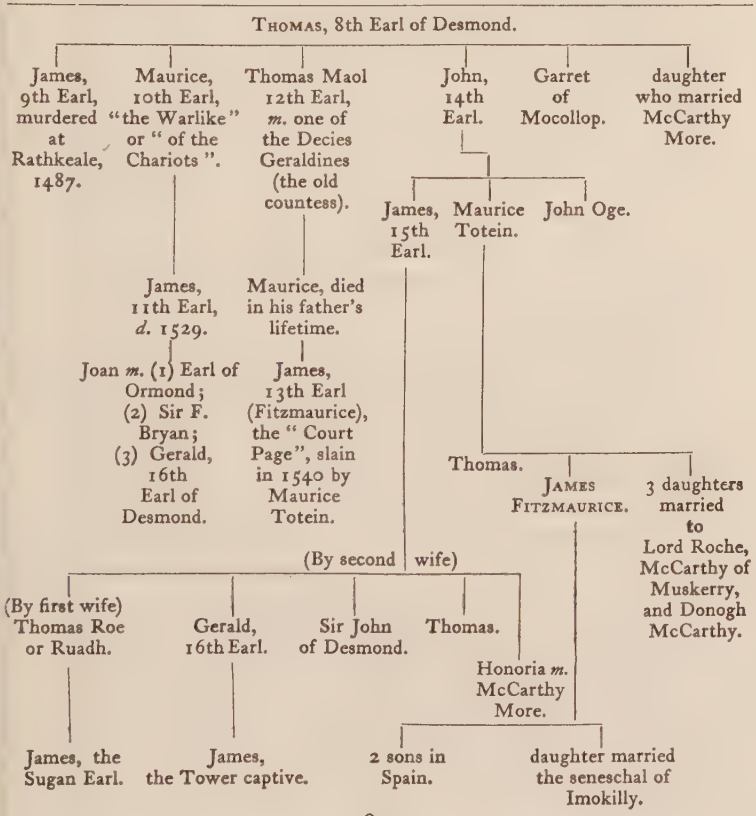
REIGNS OF HENRY VII. AND HENRY VIII.

The Earl of Desmond, who was executed at Drogheda, left five sons, four of whom held the earldom at one time or another. The eldest, James, the ninth Earl, was murdered in his own house at Rathkeale in 1487. His own brother John was suspected of connivance in the business.

He was succeeded by his brother Maurice, tenth Earl, who was also known as Maurice "the Warlike" and Maurice "of the Chariots". He went into battle in a chariot owing to his being lame. He received and supported the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, but was forgiven by the King. His son, James, succeeded him as eleventh Earl. The latter signalised his accession by making fierce war upon McCarthy of Muskerry, who, however, was aided by McCarthy Reagh and the Earl's uncle and determined enemy, Thomas Maol (or "the Bald"), so that the Geraldine strength was divided. A battle took place near Mourne Abbey and was decided by a fine cavalry charge led by Thomas Maol. The Earl was defeated with the loss of 1000 men. A few months later we find

McCarthy of Muskerry and McCarthy Reagh appearing before the English Deputy, giving pledges to keep the peace and proposing to surrender their lands so that they might acquire them again with an English title.

DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS, 8TH EARL OF DESMOND, EXECUTED AT DROGHEDA, WHOSE WIFE WAS A DAUGHTER OF LORD BARRYMORE


Thomas, 8th Earl of Desmond.
James, 9th Earl, murdered at Rathkeale, 1487.
Maurice, 10th Earl, "the Warlike" or "of the Chariots".
Thomas Maol 12th Earl, m. one of the Decies Geraldines (the old countess).
John, 14th Earl.
Garret of Mocollop.
daughter who married McCarthy More.
James, 15th Earl.
Maurice Totein.
John Oge.
James, 11th Earl, d. 1529.
Maurice, died in his father's lifetime.
Joan m. (1) Earl of Ormond; (2) Sir F. Bryan; (3) Gerald, 16th Earl of Desmond.
James, 13th Earl (Fitzmaurice), the "Court Page", slain in 1540 by Maurice Totein.
Thomas.
James Fitzmaurice.
3 daughters married to Lord Roche, McCarthy of Muskerry, and Donogh McCarthy.
(By second wife)
(By first wife) Thomas Roe or Ruadh.
Gerald, 16th Earl.
Sir John of Desmond.
Thomas.
Honoria m. McCarthy More.
James, the Sugan Earl.
James, the Tower captive.
2 sons in Spain.
daughter married the seneschal of Imokilly.

Desmond was apparently angered because of the countenance shown to his foes. He was accused[1] of having entered into treasonable correspondence with Francis I. of France, and with the Emperor of Germany in 1523.

The task of apprehending him was entrusted to his relative, the Earl of Kildare. James, however, relying upon the privilege of the Desmonds, could not be prevailed upon to answer any summons, so that Kildare, who was probably not too anxious to hasten the downfall of his cousin of Desmond, and who, in any case, had no means at his disposal of penetrating into the remote mountain-fastnesses of Munster, effected nothing. He was accused by the head of the Ormonds of slackness in the performance of the duty which had been entrusted to him, and was summoned to England to answer the charge in 1526.

This led to a scene which would be worthy of inclusion in Shakespere's *Henry VIII.*, if further evidence were wanted there of the arrogance of the great Cardinal Wolsey in his hour of pomp and pride, and of the fearlessness of the Geraldine chief and soldier.

The Cardinal reproached Kildare bitterly for his failure to arrest the recalcitrant Desmond. At the end of his address he is reported to have said: "Had you lost a cow, or horse of your own, two hundred of your retainers would have come at a whistle to rescue the prey from the uttermost edge of Ulster. But in pursuing so needful a matter

[1] On good grounds. His treaty with France is still extant.

as this was, merciful God, how nice, how dangerous, how wayward you have been! One while he is from Home, and another while he keepeth Home, and sometimes fled, sometimes in the Borders, where you dare not venture . . . the Earl, nay the King of Kildare, for when you are disposed, you Reign more like than Rule in the Land ".[1]

Such a vitriolic attack by the all-powerful Cardinal would certainly shrivel up the courage of most courtiers, but Kildare was no courtier, and his blunt soldierly reply wellnigh cost him his life. He interrupted the Cardinal's outburst with an effective counter-attack. " I would you and I had changed kingdoms for one month. I would trust to gather up more crumbs in that space than twice the revenues of my poor Earldom. . . . I slumber in a hard Cabin when you sleep in a soft Bed of Down. I serve under the King's Cope of Heaven when you are served under a Canopy. I drink water out of my Scull " (*i.e.* helmet or headpiece) " when you drink wine out of Golden Cups. My Courser is trained to the field when your Jennet is taught to amble; when you are Graced and Belorded and Crouched and Kneeled to, then find I small Grace with our Irish Borderers, except I cut them off by the Knees."

In the end Wolsey, finding that the prisoner was " no fool " (Cox), adjourned the trial, and Kildare was committed to the Tower. He escaped death at the instance of the offended Cardinal, only by the personal interference of the King.

[1] For the full speeches see Cox, vol. i. pp. 216-219.

In 1528, on the failure of Kildare, the pursuit of Desmond appears to have been entrusted to James Butler, son of Piers, then Earl of Ossory, and subsequently Earl of Ormond. Wolsey was advised that it would be hard to catch Desmond except by "trayn", that is by snare or stratagem of some kind. But the trapper that he sent forth was probably not skilful at plotting. James Butler seems to have been quite unsuited for treachery of any kind. In any case, instead of trapping his quarry the hunter soon found himself enmeshed in toils of a silkier kind.

This very year we find Cowley, who was at once Ormond's secretary and a correspondent of the Government,—he would be described as a spy nowadays,—writing to Wolsey to inform him that James Butler was the greatest "friend, Alye, and succour" that the Earl of Desmond had.

There are plenty of dry-as-dust records of the feud between the Butlers and the Geraldines—these Irish Montagues and Capulets—with dates which are only too often unreliable, and facts now of no conceivable interest to any living being; but those old chroniclers had a fine contempt for anything with a flavour of romance, if we are to judge by their treatment of the story of Joan of Desmond. As far as our authorities are concerned, not one of them thinks it worth his while to mention when or where she came into the tale.

Very beautiful this daughter of the Earl and of Margaret O'Brien of Thomond must have been, for these untamed Desmonds were always a handsome race, and her sons were afterwards as goodly

to look upon as any men of their time. The chief of them competed with the brilliant Leicester for a Queen's regard. Perhaps the young Butler, in his attempts to negotiate with Earl James, may have visited the castle of some friend to both, on the borders of Tipperary or Limerick, and there first set eyes on the heiress of the Desmonds, at a time when the jewels in her hair would glow only by the dim light of torch or logfire; or mayhap, he saw her first at some hunting or hawking gathering surrounded by a bevy of proud and gallant young Geraldines. At any rate there was cause enough for Cowley's letter, for James Butler became a suitor for the hand of Joan. He must have been awkwardly placed, for Desmond was in rebellion up to the time of his death in 1529.

In February 1528 we find[1] a grant made to the Earl of Ossory (Piers, father of James) which included the offices of seneschal, constable, and governor of the manor and castle of Dungarvan "when he shall have recovered possession of it from James, Earl of Desmond, who now by intrusion detains it from the King". The Desmonds had genuine claims on Dungarvan, which had been granted to them and taken back more than once.

James died in 1529, still in rebellion. In December 1532 the zealous Cowley informs Cromwell, Wolsey's successor, of the marriage of the "Lord James Butler to the heiress of Desmond".

Joan apparently brought, as part of her marriage-

[1] *Patent and Close Rolls, Ireland.*

dower, whatever rights the Desmonds had to the vills or manors of Clonmel and Kilsheelan, as well as Kilfeakle.

It really seemed as if human wisdom and human love had devised a means of defeating the designs of the malignant fates and averting the doom of the house of Desmond. The great causes of the quarrel between Desmond and Ormond seemed to exist no longer. But the destinies are not to be cheated in that fashion.

Earl James was succeeded by his uncle, Thomas Maol, third son of him who was executed at Drogheda, and twelfth Earl of Desmond. As an enemy to the rebel James, his accession gratified the English Court.

Wolsey's policy, before his fall, had been directed at limiting the independence of the great Irish lords. It had been customary to appoint one of these Lord Deputy in Ireland for the King, as a rule, though not an invariable one. Wolsey sent over the Earl of Sussex as Viceroy, and from thenceforward it became the practice to send over an English Lord Deputy, who very often brought over his own officers and household with him.

These officials usually had little real interest in the welfare of Ireland. They desired to accumulate as much wealth as possible during the time of their service there. They probably had little intention of settling permanently in Ireland, but often altered their intentions when they obtained grants of lands. The confiscations of the abbeys were followed by many grants of the kind, and first set on edge the greed of the tribe of escheators

and " informers " who infested the land thenceforward.

Henry VIII. pursued Wolsey's policy until he got himself declared King of Ireland. One of the measures of the English Council was to secure the persons of the heirs of certain powerful lords and train them up in English ways at the Court in London.

The son of Earl Thomas died before him, but he had one grandson who was very dear to him, as the hope of his own house and the heir to the great earldom. He was ordered to send this youth to London. His reply was pitiful enough.

" I submit myself to your grace as I did to your noble dearest father of famous memory—whose soul Jesu pardon—trusting for to show myself the same man, according to my bounden duty of allegiance during my life, by fulfilling all my promises to my power, saving one of which I desire your grace me to pardon, as I have promised to send mine heir to your grace. I being well-stricken in age, having none other but only he, my lordship " (territory) " under your grace being far asunder, having sundry mortal enemies, considering mine ancient and his tender age, your grace may consider that we both has much to do for to keep our own, and if he were absent, both in danger of the sea and other mischances I should had much ado."

The poor old man's appeal was made in vain. The boy had to go. The King made him one of his pages. Down in Desmond he was scornfully dubbed " the Page ". The old Earl died a few

months after his grandson was taken from him, his death being, in all probability, accelerated by the grief of the parting.

He is remarkable as having been the husband of that famous Countess of Desmond, who is said to have lived to the age of 162 years, dying as the result of a fall from a cherry or nut tree, which the sprightly old lady had climbed in search of fruit.[1]

On the death of Earl Thomas his grandson, as far as the English Court was concerned, became the thirteenth Earl, and is so reckoned by all the historians. Down in Desmond, however, his fierce old uncle, John, fourth son of the Earl who was executed at Drogheda, seized on the Desmond possessions and proclaimed himself Earl. He is usually styled fourteenth Earl, though the thirteenth Earl survived him. He had many warlike sons to support his claim, and the Desmonds in general preferred a chieftain who was familiar with their Irish speech and customs to the hot-house product trained in an English Court. They despised "the Page". On the other hand, the English authorities naturally supported the claims of the latter, which, in spite of allegations of illegitimacy made by John and his followers, appear to have been unquestionable except on the ground that "might is right".

A struggle arose, however, because the English Government was not strong enough to enforce its decisions in Munster whilst John and his sons

[1] She is said to have danced at the Courts of Edward IV. and of James I., though this has been denied.

were powerful enough to possess themselves of nearly all the Desmond lands and castles.

Of course the Ormonds were interested in this quarrel. Piers, Earl of Ossory, and subsequently of Ormond, wrote in January 1535 to the Lord Deputy that his policy was to "allure the pretended Earl of Desmond to some good concord. The Earls of Desmond have a malicious rebellion rooted in them ever since the execution of Thomas, Earl of Desmond, in Drogheda."

Piers's son, Lord James Butler, husband of Joan of Desmond, went on an expedition through Munster in the autumn of the same year and met both the claimants.[1]

At Cork he met the Page. Here is an extract from Captain Stephen Ap Harry's report to Cromwell:

"And on the morrow came Cormac Oge[2] to

[1] Cox's account of this journey is interesting. It is taken from a letter from Captain Ap Harry: "And that the Lord James Butler marched to Clonmel, where his Lordship's brother-in-law, Garret MacShane" (who could not speak one word of English) "met him; that thence they marched to Dungarvan which surrendered to him, and thence to Youghal, where he had a gallon of Gascoyn wine for four pence; and thence to Cork, where the Lord Barry made great complaints of Cormac Oge of Muskry and McCarthy Reagh; the former was willing to submit to the award of the State, but McCarthy Reagh answered, that what he got by the Sword he would keep by the Sword," etc. etc. Cox, vol. i. p. 243.

Cormac Oge was a McCarthy also. Surnames were omitted as often as not in those days in Munster.

[2] McCarthy of Muskerry, to whose daughter the young "Page" Earl was married. This Captain Stephen

the town end, and brought with him the young gentleman which challenges to be the Earl of Desmond. This young man speaks very good English, and keepeth his hair and cap after the English fashion upon his head. He is content with all his heart if Sir John Desmond, his uncle, will submit himself to the King and his council. He is willing to abide by their decision."

Of course he was. He knew his Court, and one who wore his cap and hair after the English fashion, and spoke correct English, stood a much better chance there than any rough old Irish nobleman. But when old John was summoned to go to England he asked what on earth—and probably elsewhere—he had to gain by squabbling with "a boy" in England. However, if he got the Irish horse "Morac Oge" he would go. He may have got the horse, for he got as far as Waterford on his journey, but probably repented and turned back. At any rate there is no evidence that he ever got to England. In 1536 Cromwell received a report from one of his correspondents stating that Sir John of Desmond, by the aid of O'Brien, had obtained great part of the earldom.

John had made an alliance with one section of the O'Briens of Thomond (who had family quarrels of their own at this time). This alliance tended to shift the centre of gravity of the Desmond interests more and more to the county of Limerick and its

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Ap Harry was one of the first of the vultures. He was often accused of taking bribes. One was 40s. and a doublet cloth of crimson satin.

borders. Thenceforward a good deal of their story is concerned with the affairs of that county, and Lough Gur Castle as well as Kilmallock and Aherlow (in County Tipperary, not far away) became some of the principal strongholds and residences of the Earls. They seem to have been always in close association with some of the O'Briens.

In the early part of 1536 John and these allies were very active. On June 1 the Council of Ireland wrote to inform Cromwell that want of money prevented them from "repelling" those aggressors.

At this stage John died. Whereupon the authorities in England must have deemed that the time had come for lessening the independence and undermining the power of these haughty Desmonds, for within a month of John's death a "remembrance" was drawn up for Secretary Cromwell for settling the Earl of Desmond's lands, dividing them into shires, appointing escheators, and paying rents to the King.[1]

It is pretty evident that the Council in England were not much troubled with regard for the rights of the tame "Page" Earl. But there were some other people who thought that the affair concerned them. And these proved of such a mettle that we hear nothing more for many a year of these plans for the spoliation of the rich Desmond lands.

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, June 1536, vol. iii. p. 20. In future quotations from this source will be referred to as *C.S.P.* simply.

THE SONS OF JOHN OF DESMOND

John left three sons, James, Maurice, and John Oge (young John). The eldest, James, supported by his allies, the O'Briens, at once laid claim to the earldom.

Cox, relying upon Holinshed, tells us that this James, though ultimately attaining to high positions, was not qualified to be a member of the Privy Council, because "he was so rude and savage both in apparel and behaviour, for he had neither learning nor manners, but lived after a barbarous fashion in the country among the wild Irish, and perhaps had not so much as a glass window to his houses, and yet he was the best landed subject in the King's dominions." Cox continues with what reads like an extract from a fairy-tale to the effect that at some indefinite time, specified as "about Christmas", the Deputy having summoned James to Dublin, and finding his summons disobeyed, went with twenty men to James's house in Munster, where he found the latter sitting by the fire, and took him prisoner, bringing him to Dublin. There the prisoner got such good instruction that he became an obedient subject, and was so grateful to his benefactor, the Deputy, that he would pray for him for ever afterwards "after every meal".

This pretty tale is, however, intrinsically very improbable. The twenty men who would venture into the Desmond's house in the heart of his own territory to take him prisoner would need to be courageous indeed, and their enterprise would

have small chance of success. Our chronicler is not even too sure of his facts. His statement about the glass windows has to be qualified with a "perhaps". For the rest, it is just what an English courtier would write about a foreign leader who dressed and spoke in a fashion different from that prevailing in England at the time. Indeed one can conceive Shakespere's fop describing Harry Percy in terms not very different. In truth James was no savage. In an age of adroit and astute, if somewhat unscrupulous statesmanship, he held his own with the best, and from an inauspicious start as "the king's rebel" he managed to arrive at the position of Lord High Treasurer—one of the first in the kingdom—in the long run. It is hardly possible that he could establish such a record and attain to such a position if he were so utterly devoid of learning and manners as his critics allege.

Maurice, the second son of John of Desmond, was a redoubtable warrior, and "princely in his castles", according to O'Daly, who adds, however, that nature gave him a fiendish character and that he was hated by every one. At any rate he had a very significant nickname. He was called Maurice "Totein" or "Attotane", that is Maurice "of the Burnings"—Maurice the Incendiary. So fierce and passionate was he that James was anxious to remove him from his own neighbourhood, and at an early stage gave him the district of Kerrycurrihy. There he would have plenty of scope for fighting with the McCarthys of Carbery and of Muskerry, who were usually at feud with

his house, and whose territories marched with his.[1]

In July 1536, James having proclaimed himself Earl, the Deputy, Gray, marched to Cashel, having been joined by the Earl of Ossory and Lord James Butler. He besieged and took the Desmond Castle at Lough Gur.[2]

The King's O'Brien, Donogh, joined him there, and they proceeded to Carrigogunnel, west of Limerick, and took that castle, losing it again temporarily by treachery. Then they took O'Brien's bridge over the Shannon, which was the principal means of communication outside of Limerick, between Thomond and Desmond.

It is stated that the bridge was fifteen score paces in length and was broken down with bills, swords, and daggers with infinite labour, for want of pickaxes and crowbars. There was scarcity of provisions too. A halfpenny loaf sold for a shilling, according to Cox. And Carrigogunnel having been retaken and its garrison put to death, it was found that the army would not " invade O'Brien unless paid their wages ". Whereupon Lough Gur Castle was abandoned, and no doubt promptly re-occupied by the Geraldines.

James seems to have begun to exercise his diplomatic qualities about this time. He got into

[1] Kerrycurrihy, sometimes called Kerrywherry in these records, lies on the western shore of Cork harbour, south of Cork city. It includes the town of Carrigaline. It contained about 40,000 acres.

[2] Lough Gur is about two miles from Bruff, on the road from that place to Limerick.

communication with the Deputy, Gray, who was not too anxious to see the power of the Butlers increased, and that family left without an important rival in all Ireland.[1]

On February 4, 1537, the Lord Deputy (Gray) wrote to the King informing him that he had had a conference with James Fitz-John, the claimant to the earldom of Desmond. He recommended that James's claim should be allowed, drawing attention to the power of the Earl of Ormond and the Butler family.

On the same date he sent to Secretary Cromwell articles of submission proffered by James Fitz-John of Desmond: "Desmond is afraid of Lord (James) Butler." [2]

There were three papers from James enclosed in the Deputy's letter. The first was a declaration promising to restore to the inhabitants of Munster any goods taken wrongfully since he became Earl.

The second, which was written from Lough Gur Castle, contained various promises. James undertook to do the King true service; to be ready to go on all hostings or military assemblages at the Lord Deputy's call; to make restitution of all

[1] It may be noted that the confiscation of the lesser monasteries took place in England at this time, and King Henry's quarrel with the Pope culminated in the final rupture of all good relations between them.

[2] *C.S.P.* "James Fitz-John" is the title usually applied to the claimant to the earldom, the Court Page, the recognised holder, being known as "James Fitz-Maurice" (son of Maurice) by way of distinction.

goods and chattels taken by violence; to do right to James Fitzmaurice's challenge to the earldom of Desmond.

His third letter merely renewed his promise to serve the King, and pleaded his innocence of intention to offend.[1]

The Deputy rather leaned to friendship with this James. He had his own foes. He was always at feud with the Butlers, and had just quarrelled with Archbishop Browne of Dublin, who was complaisant to the King, and also with Allen (afterwards Chancellor). Then there were several petty scribes or spies always writing to the Secretary, Cromwell, accusing the Deputy of this or that crime or negligence. He had his attention concentrated upon Ireland, trying to limit or balance the growing power of the Butlers, whilst his credit in England was being undermined. And the Butlers had grown very powerful indeed at Court, in spite of their relationship to the ill-fated Anne Boleyn. She had been executed in 1536, and now in 1537 we find the King restoring to the Earl of Ossory the title of Earl of Ormond, and granting the possessions of the earldom to him and his son. These consisted of 33 manors, viz. 6 in Kilkenny, 9 in Tipperary, 6 in Carlow, 1 in Wexford, 1 in Waterford, 4 in Kildare, 4 in Dublin, and 2 in Meath. The grant is dated October 3, 1537.

The enemies of the Deputy Lord Gray had succeeded by their united efforts in arousing suspicion against him at Court, and no answer seems to have been vouchsafed to his recommendations

[1] *C.S.P.* vol. iv. pp. 24-25.

in favour of James Fitz-John. Instead of replying the King announced his intention of sending a trustworthy person to Ireland to ascertain its state.

This was rather ominous, as seeming to suggest that the Deputy was not trustworthy in the King's opinion. In any case the project was carried out by the appointment (July 1537) of four "Commissioners for the regulation of the government of Ireland". The first named of these was Sir Anthony St. Leger.

They were directed to summon James Fitz-John to attend them at Dublin, and there to remonstrate with him for showing himself to be "his highness's rebel", amongst other things.[1]

A threat of exemplary punishment, if he persisted in his evil ways, was to be held out. If the Commissioners were successful in inducing him to submit his claims to the earldom for their decision, they were to examine the title between him and "this young man" (the Court Page), "*whose part they shall advance because he is here with the King's highness*, as much as they may without the offence of justice".

A nod is as good as a wink, and James Fitz-John had need to be very wary. He was equal to the occasion.

In September 1537 the Commissioners tried to

[1] There is nothing new under the sun. In Queen Victoria's time the use of the term "Her Majesty's opposition" for the first time created a ripple of amusement in political circles. "His highness's rebel" is a phrase three hundred years older, and much more incongruously picturesque.

get James to come to Dublin, but he was altogether too clever to obey the summons. He arranged to meet them at Clonmel instead. When they came there he asserted the Desmond privilege of declining to enter a walled town. Cox's sense of fitness is amusingly outraged at what followed:

"The Commissioners, forgetting the Dignity of their Character, and the Royal Person they represented, dishonourably condescended to go to Desmond's Camp, and there they took his Oath of Fidelity" and his son as hostage.[1]

St. Leger gives a different account of the interview. "We have", he says, "parleyed with James of Desmond in the fields without the town of Clonmel, and not perceiving any towardness in him, departed without making any conclusion."

Two days later James sent his secretary with his signet and a message to the effect that he was prevented from transacting business when they met near Clonmel, owing to the presence of his captain of gallowglasses (heavily armed soldiers). He promised to be a most obedient subject and to submit his claims to the earldom to the King's decision. He accused the Court Page of treason and alleged that he was illegitimate.

St. Leger wrote several letters requiring James to fulfil his promises, and in addition amongst other things to "relinquish the false and usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome".

The Commissioners effected very little in reality beyond extracting promises from James. He was rather complaisant even in religious matters as

[1] Cox, p. 254, vol. i.

far as promises went. And he had even flattered the King delicately by divorcing his first wife, the daughter of Lord Roche, on the ground of consanguinity.[1]

As a tender conscience on this point was Henry VIII.'s excuse for divorcing his Queen, Catherine of Aragon, he must have felt pleased at James's sincere flattery by imitation.

Though James promised all sorts of submission, and even went so far as to give his eldest son—now branded with illegitimacy—as hostage, he could never be induced to come to Dublin, or to bring his dispute with the Court Page to trial.

He had two very good reasons for his action. The first was that, whatever rights Irish ancient law might give him as the accepted of his people, he had no case whatever according to English law. James the Page was undoubted heir to the earldom, which was an English institution, and no tittle of evidence was ever produced to warrant the charges of treason and illegitimacy made against him.

Again, James Fitz-John was one person in Munster, where he was in fact, if not in law, overlord of the whole country from Tipperary to Dingle and from the neighbourhood of Cork to Killaloe, and another in Dublin in the midst of his enemies. If he once fell into their hands there his claims would receive small consideration. The cause of his young rival would have been "advanced" in accordance with the royal instructions.

[1] O'Sullivan, *Catholicæ Iberniæ*. One incredible account says she was her husband's grand-niece.

James had managed to secure the fast friendship of the Deputy, Lord Leonard Gray, by this time, though not without occasional interruptions, for both were hot-blooded and were on the verge of quarrel at times. One instance is curious. It occurred in the year 1538.

O'Mulrian of Owney, or Abington, near Limerick, owed the Deputy forty marks, and to secure the payment put a pledge of cows into the hands of James, Earl of Desmond. O'Mulrian paid the Deputy his forty marks and naturally went to look for his cows. James would not surrender them, whereupon O'Mulrian applied to the Deputy, who insisted upon James delivering up the pledge. "You are paid," said Desmond. "You have no further interest in this affair." Thereupon the two "began to square together", and all their men were drawn up in preparation for a fight. Friends intervened, however, and seemingly induced Desmond to give up the cattle. Very likely the incident illustrates an attempt to enforce payment of some levy or other from O'Mulrian on a claim of overlordship by Desmond.[1]

The Deputy had quarrelled with the Council of Ireland, and his friendship with Desmond involved for the latter the loss of their favour.

In November 1538 they wrote to the Secretary (Cromwell) stating that James, the pretended Earl of Desmond, whilst professing himself ready to be ordered in all things to the King's pleasure, had obtained such a strength in Munster as no Earl of Desmond had there in man's remembrance.

[1] Gibson's *Hist. Cork*, vol. i. p. 146.

They advised that the King should send the Court Page over to Ireland.

"For much more good wisdom and policy it is to put them two together, the one against the other, whereby this pretended Earl may have his hands full, to look to his own defence, than to permit him to aggregate to himself all the strength of the best part of Ireland . . . for we see no likelihood, ne esperance" (nor hope) "of conformity in him for the King's purpose."

This advice was ultimately taken, with most disastrous results for the poor Page.

During all this time James carried on his private wars as if there were no English government. He is reported in April 1538 to have besieged Carrigogunnell.[1] On June 29 it is stated that he had been ordered to cast down the strong castles built on O'Brien's Bridge to secure his communications with Thomond. In July Ormond sent a present of hawks to Cromwell,[2] and informed him of a meeting between the Deputy Gray and James. Gray was very busy about this time fighting in other parts of Ireland, and had not much leisure to attend to the affairs of Desmond. In August the Lord Treasurer, James Butler, Joan's husband, was at war with James of Desmond and the O'Carrolls of Ely, who were relatives of the wife of the latter. At the same time the quarrel between the Deputy and the Butlers grew very bitter. The

[1] *C.S.P.*

[2] Irish hawks and falcons seem to have been highly valued in England. They were often sent over as presents, or as rent.

Deputy even went so far as to send to England a "Book of Accusations" against the Earl of Ormond and his son Lord James Butler. The Ormonds replied vigorously in kind, accusing the Deputy of various neglects and delinquencies.

THE COMING OF THE REFORMATION TO MUNSTER

The Commissioners sent over by the King had more immediate duties than that of dealing with James of Desmond. They were ordered to suppress all the monasteries and convents and to confiscate their wealth and possessions for the King's use, subject to some provision for abbots and principal members of the orders.

Their accounts were compiled in 1539. The abbey of Tipperary was in a rather ruinous condition, very likely owing to its position on the boundary of the greater Desmond, and the territory claimed by the Ormonds and its exposed situation when the O'Briens went a-raiding from Thomond through the adjacent Cuanach territory. The King only received 22s. 6d. from the sale of its chattels, and a few shillings a year from the letting of its lands at Tipperary and "Clonford".[1]

So long as the new religion brought gifts of confiscated abbey lands, the leaders in Ireland were willing to pay it some recognition. Henry VIII. did not demand very much alteration in belief from ordinary people. He left them their bishops and priests, though he suppressed the

[1] Probably now corrupted into "Longford".

monasteries and required his officials to abjure the Pope's authority. James of Desmond was generous enough in these circumstances to offer to undertake, with the help of his friends and servants, to farm all the lands of the abbeys and friaries in Munster, if the King wished to confiscate them (as he did). Both Desmonds and Ormonds seem to have protected the religious in many of the confiscated abbeys long afterwards. In the State Papers it is said that the goods of the abbeys were seized and sold "for the advantage of the King in a great necessity, to wit, for payment of the wages of captains and soldiers taken into pay against James of Desmond and other rebels of English and Irish nation adhering to him, and against O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Brien, McMurrough and other Irish insurgent and rebelling against the lord, the King and his people".[1]

For the ordinary dwellers in Munster the change in religion had no attraction. Even men who were not usually influenced by deep religious feeling might well resent the demand to change their belief at the behest of a King whose quarrel with the Pope was manifestly based on a desire for divorce and re-marriage. Hope of gain or fear might extort a superficial compliance with the King's orders from some highly-placed nobles and officials, but it is clear that the mass of the people and the greater number of their chiefs had no desire whatever for any alteration in their religious beliefs.

There may have been one notable exception.

[1] *Jour. R.S.A.I.* vol. iii. part i.

The poor Court Page had been drilled in knowledge of the English tongue and the wearing of English costume. It is unlikely that he escaped the necessity of accepting the new doctrines propounded or encouraged by the King. He may even have borne Anne Boleyn's train at some Court function, but all these things counted for little with the wild and warlike Munster folk. If they were to have an Earl over their Desmond, they wanted a warrior who spoke their own tongue, and lived and fought like themselves, who would pay heed to their Brehon laws and be governed by their customs sanctified by ages of use, and above all, whom they could respect, and under whose banner they could all unite, Irish and Anglo-Irish alike, to resist the growing encroachments of English kings and councils.

All Munster had learned to look upon James as leader by this time. His friendship with the Deputy and the acceptance of his rule by the Geraldines rendered him so strong that few in that province would care to challenge his power. And the mere suggestion of penalties and confiscations in connection with the new religion alarmed men's minds, so that they would naturally tend to concentrate around the strongest amongst them. It must have been recognised, too, that the Ormonds were bound to be complaisant to the English Court.

At the first advent of Protestantism in Ireland it was not so very alarming to ordinary people. It almost consisted of acknowledging King Henry as head of the Irish Church instead of the Pope.

As the English Government had been accustomed to meddle very effectively in the nomination of Church dignitaries in Ireland, it seemed a change in name more than anything else. Nearly all the bishops were English by descent or sympathy. Great care had been taken to exclude the native Irish from any position of importance in the Church. Apart from the confiscation of the abbeys and convents, the pressure was felt mainly by the Anglo-Irish Church dignitaries.

Eight bishops are reported to have taken the oaths of succession and supremacy.[1] In 1542 the principal Irish and Anglo-Irish chieftains of Munster signed a paper to the same effect, binding themselves by indenture to St. Leger, James of Desmond, and others, to recognise Henry and his successors as Kings of Ireland, and the King as " in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicanæ supremum Caput ".

The King had cynically remarked on earlier paper-submissions that they were not worth a farthing, since the signatories did not give hostages.[2]

All this affected the ordinary people of Ireland very little beyond depriving them of the hospitals and charitable organisations maintained by the great monasteries. The bishops were in a different position. Many of them refused to sign the required declaration, and though not imprisoned or deprived as a rule, they must have been worried in many ways. Archbishop George

[1] *C.S.P.*, Feb. 1539.

[2] Cox, p. 253, vol. i.; submissions in full, pp. 273-274.

Dowdall of Armagh stood out for the Pope. The chief on the other side was the Archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, an Englishman who had been appointed to the see in 1535. He was an ardent supporter of the King's measures and held high place in his councils and government.

MAURICE TOTEIN SOLVES A DIFFICULTY

The existence of the Court Page's claims began to prove a nuisance to all parties.

James of Desmond could not have his earldom in peace whilst there was some one at hand with an undeniably better claim—that is, according to English law, and the earldom was an English institution anyhow, resting by this time on buttresses of Irish law and custom, however.

On the other hand, the English King and Council could not well abandon the unhappy youth whom they had dragged from his home in Desmond, and from whom they had alienated the support of his natural followers. Yet they wanted to treat with the man in real power, whilst they were debarred in common decency from doing so whilst he usurped the rights of their protégé.

In this year (August 21, 1539) James Butler, by the death of his father, became Earl of Ormond. And thus his wife, Joan of Desmond, became Countess in the house of the hereditary enemies of her own people.

In October the new Earl wrote to inform Cromwell that James Fitz-John was strong in

Munster, and that he himself had in vain tried to treat with him. He was apprehensive of being blamed by the Deputy Gray, whom he accused in another letter to Wriothesley of leaning to the Geraldines.[1]

Ormond had been commissioned to negotiate with James, and had sent the Archbishop of Cashel (Edmond Butler) in advance, to prepare for the discussion. An appointment for a meeting was made. But as Ormond approached the meeting-place he was met by the Archbishop, who advised him to turn back, and told him that it " booted him not to tarry ". Ormond took this wise advice, and joined forces with the Deputy. They marched into Munster to Cashel, Clonmel, Youghal, etc., etc., taking many castles for the Court Page, and receiving submissions from O'Carroll, McBrien Arra, Dermot O'Mulrian, " O'Dwyres " both, the White Knight, and many other chieftains.

Young James, the Court Page, had at length been sent over to Ireland in compliance with the suggestion made a year or two previously by the Irish Council. Ormond, very probably influenced by his wife, was interesting himself in these Desmond quarrels, and was anxious to see the youth righted. For four years now James Fitz-John had kept him out of his earldom, and was certainly not growing any weaker.

But James's wild brother, Black Maurice the

[1] The head of the Wriothesleys was Earl of Southampton. This may have been the father of Shakespere's friend and patron.

Incendiary, grew impatient of all delays, and cut the knot in his own way.

On April 4, 1540, the Council of Ireland were compelled to inform the King that "James Fitz-maurice of Desmond had been slain by Maurice, the brother of James Fitz-John, whereby the latter has concentrated in himself the whole title to the earldom".

This occurred near Kenmare. One cannot help remembering at this stage the forebodings of the old Earl, Thomas, when they took the child of his dead son away to convert him into a true Englishman, who could wear English clothes and speak the language of London in the correct Court fashion. The lad had learnt these lessons at the cost of the loss of the friendship of the best of his house, and, in the end, of his life. Had they but left him to grow up as his predecessors did amongst the green hills and woods of Munster, surrounded by its warm-hearted if warlike people, it is more than likely that he would have held his earldom without question, and certainly with strength enough to repel any challenger.

James of Desmond, on hearing of the death of his cousin, hastened to Youghal, where he was well received. All the castles lately taken and held for the unfortunate Court Page opened their doors to him. Around his standard gathered the Lords Roche and Barry, the White Knight, MacCarthy Reagh, and a host of Irish chieftains and captains who had lately given pledges of obedience to the Deputy.[1]

[1] Gibson's *Cork*, vol. i. p. 153.

It was clearly necessary to treat with this powerful leader, even if only to gain time.

Ormond, finding that James would not come to him, resolved, as he puts it, " to jeopardy myself in his hands ". He passed two nights with James in the heart of the latter's own country, but had to report that he could not induce him to submit to the King, as he despaired of receiving his pardon.

In July James wrote a letter to Ormond, who was about to go to London, requesting him to bring the writer into the King's favour as best he could. Desmond added that he had prevented O'Brien from doing harm.

Ormond must have succeeded in this mission, for there was a notarial instrument,[1] executed by the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Limerick, certifying the public submission of James Fitz-John, Earl of Desmond.

This is probably the same submission that is described by Cox as having been made at Cahir on January 16, 1540 (1541?). We are told that the Earl renounced the "fantastical privilege" of not being obliged to appear in Parliament, or to come within any town but at his own pleasure.

It is stated that he delivered his son, Gerald, as hostage for his loyalty, and to be bred after the English manner. He also is said to have repudiated the Pope's authority, and promised to pay his taxes "as the Earl of Ormond and other noblemen do". There was a further arrangement for intermarriages between the children of the two Earls,

[1] *C.S.P.*, Jan. 16, 1541.

but Ormond's eldest son was only nine years old at the time.

The right of refusal to appear in any walled town in answer to any summons was a valuable one to the Earls of Desmond, and on occasion had probably saved the lives of some of them. Its abandonment did no harm to James himself, but the day came when its loss was largely responsible for hastening the overthrow and final ruin of the Desmond power.

JAMES, FIFTEENTH EARL OF DESMOND

There are writers who think that this James was the greatest of all the Earls of Desmond. He had started out on his career as the "pretended Earl" or "the Usurper", whilst his young rival had the support of all the influence of the Court of England. Yet he won unquestioned supremacy in the greater part of Munster, as well as the friendship of two Viceroys. He died at an advanced age, holding the second position in the kingdom of Ireland, viz. that of Lord High Treasurer, with his titles fully recognised, and his princely inheritance widely extended.[1]

The Viceroys appear to have been his friends largely from the desire to use him as a counter-weight to the rapidly-growing power and influence of the house of Ormond.

Gray, who was cousin, once removed, of King Henry, applied for leave of absence from his Irish post of Deputy early in 1540. In April he was

[1] Gibson's *Cork*, vol. i. p. 131.

"temporarily recalled". The temporary recall, however, soon proved permanent. In August the Lord Justice, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Master of the Rolls reported that they had made search (no doubt by direction) for all such treasure, jewels, plate and stuff as the Lord Leonard Gray had left. In September the King directed St. Leger to have articles prepared accusing Lord Gray.

Gray's sister had married the Earl of Kildare, and the principal charge against him was that he had connived at the escape of the heir of that house into France. There were other accusations, however, and some of them had reference to James of Desmond. Gray was charged with going to visit him in his tents "in his Night Gown", and also of having fought at O'Brien's Bridge in favour of James's son-in-law, O'Brien, a rebel, and against Donough O'Brien, a good subject.

He was convicted and executed on Tower Hill in June 1541. Shortly after Gray's departure from Ireland, St. Leger was appointed Deputy. The Earl of Desmond was sworn of the Council in February 1541, and thenceforward bade good-bye to rebellion for the rest of his life.

St. Leger was soon attacked by Ormond's creatures, the Cowleys. These had acted as secretaries to Ormond and correspondents to Cromwell at the same time, and both (there were two of them, father and son) filled the position of Master of the Rolls. St. Leger defended himself vigorously, and ultimately Walter Cowley was thrown into prison in the Tower. St. Leger, in his

defence, explains his position with regard to James of Desmond.

"Now that the Earl of Kildare was gone," he wrote, "there was no subject of the King in Ireland, meet or able to weigh with the Earl of Ormond, who had of the King's gift, and of his own inheritance and rule given him by the King, not only fifty or sixty miles in length, but also many of the chief holds of the frontiers of Irishmen. . . .

"Therefore I thought it good to have a Roland for an Oliver; for having the said Earl of Desmond your highness' assured subject, it will keep them both in stay. And I trust in God, the said Earl is now so trained that your highness may be assured of him; and I trust in God he will see your majesty ere it be long. . . ."

Down in Desmond there must have been much furbishing of armour, and raking forth of jewels and costumes in the summer of 1542, for James then went on a formal visit to the Court of England, and doubtless with a full train of the gentlemen of Desmond attired in all their bravery.

He had a gracious reception from the King, his title to the earldom being finally confirmed. He was soon loaded with favours, being appointed Lord High Treasurer at this time, and obtaining the estates of the Friars' Preachers of Youghal for his brother Maurice. He also obtained the lordship of "Honagh" in the county of Tipperary "as fully as the Baron of Ibrackin held it".[1]

[1] Lynch's *View of the Legal Institutions, etc., in Ireland*, p. 257.

This "Honagh", otherwise Onagh or Onaght, is our "Eoganacht" emerging from the darkness again. Its history and that of the town of Tipperary are hidden in obscurity since we last had a glimpse of them. Here is one gleam of light, however.

In the *Patent and Close Rolls Calendar*[1] there is a record of a decree on a complaint by John and Richard, "Anglyshe" (English), gentlemen, of "Solchoyte" and Monysheane Twiney, against exactions by the Bourkes. The Earl of Desmond was one of the Commissioners who judged the case.

They found that the lands of the Englishes such as Solchoyte (Sologhead) and Monysheane Twiney had been in peaceable possession of the Brians like as they had Onaght for the space of fifty years . . . till lately the King entered in the said Onaght and other lands pertaining to the Brians, this side of the Synane (Shannon).

The Commissioners decreed that the Englishes and the rest of their sept and nation, and "Master Derby Ryan of Solchoyte", and their lands were under the rule of the Bryens and "his nation", and under McWalter before him, and now they and their successors are to be under the King's majesty in the said "Onaghte".

The O'Briens must have overflowed into this Eoganacht district from the neighbouring Cuanach in County Limerick, and seized on the lordship of those fertile Tipperary lands. Sologhead was part of Eoganacht or Onaght. Now the King had taken over all these lands in the late O'Brien

[1] Morrin, vol. i. p. 70.

rebellions, and had leased Onaght to Earl James of Desmond.

Adjoining the Kilfeakle lands, and lying within the Ormonds' palatine county of Tipperary, it soon became an additional subject of dispute between the two great houses. The Baron of Ibrackin, above referred to, was one of the O'Briens of Thomond.

There are many records referring to James of Desmond in this period of his greatest power.

St. Leger made an interesting experiment in healing dissensions in 1543. He wrote the story to the King himself. It appears that the Geraldine White Knight, who lived under the shadow of Galtymore, on its southern side, at Kilbehenny Castle, had quarrelled with his neighbour Lord Roche of Fermoy. St. Leger says that they were two who had long been out of order "though Englishmen", and that he had written to Desmond for the redress of "many evil behaviours" committed by them.

Desmond took the two of them and delivered them to the Deputy, who imprisoned them in Dublin Castle.

There, the latter wrote, they agree very well together, "and lie both in one bed, that before could not agree in a country of forty miles in length between them, and under their rule".

St. Leger continued that he intended to keep them until their friendship was confirmed, when he meant to send them home free, and apparelled like Englishmen, for now "they be in their saffron shirts and heinoghes (?) coats".

He adds that, with all their riches, they would not buy themselves one apparel, or pay for their board in the Castle for three months, and yet he is sure that their lands "well-ordered" would make them both great lords.

Perhaps we have an old-time instance of the hunger-strike here.

In April 1541 we find, amongst notes of the possessions of the dissolved monasteries, "Augustines of Tipperary, surrendered by the Prior". As already noted, the booty acquired by this surrender was small. The buildings were in rather ruinous condition, doubtless owing to the border-strife at this point. On July 8, 1542, the site and precincts of the abbey of Tipperary, with all its lands and messuages in Tipperary and Cloghefada, were granted to Dermot Ryan to be held by knights' service at an annual rent of 8s. and a fine of £20.[1]

James was now in secure possession of his earldom, and was much the most powerful noble in Munster. Even where he had no claim to lands held by minor chieftains, they were glad to submit and pay him tribute, or acknowledge his overlordship in one form or another, and thereby to secure his protection against rapacious neighbours. Peace under his rule settled down upon the land. It was at length unnecessary, we are told,[2] to

[1] "Cloghefada" is probably a transcriber's mis-spelling. It is elsewhere written "Clonford", and is very likely represented by the modern "Longford".

[2] *A.F.M.*, 1558.

fasten doors or enfold cattle in his territory in those happy days.

All his great quarrels were settled or dormant with the exception of an occasional grumble as to Dungarvan. This place had been given to his ancestors and the gift revoked more than once. King Henry VIII., as we have seen, had made a grant of it to Piers of Ossory, afterwards Earl of Ormond. Now, however, the King had withdrawn the grant,[1] and both Ormonds and Desmonds were claiming to have it given back to them.

With Joan of Desmond, Countess of Ormond, always ready to play the peacemaker, the dispute never grew really serious, and as to Clonmel, Kilsheelan, and Kilfeakle, no question seems to have arisen at this time. Doubtless it was accepted on both sides that they were Joan's dowry.

DEATH OF ORMOND

James, Earl of Ormond, was quite as powerful as his namesake of Desmond. In fact, his power was a constant source of uneasiness to the Lord Deputy and the Council in Ireland. Archbishop Browne of Dublin wrote to England referring to his insatiable ambition, and to his continual raising of "coin and livery" which the Archbishop described as "extortion". The latter also said that the Earl brought a large company of gallowglasses (heavily armed

[1] By act of the Irish Parliament, April 17, 1543.

soldiers) with him, when sent for to appear before the Council.[1]

"The said Earl", the Archbishop continued, "is more like a prince than a subject, more like a governor than an obedient servant."

In the case of the charges made against St. Leger the King proved favourable to him, and summoned Ormond and Cowley to London to prove them. As a result Cowley was sent to the Tower, as already noted, and may rest there a while without much pity from us. Allen, another enemy of St. Leger, was sent to the Fleet prison, whilst Ormond and St. Leger were reconciled by the King's mediation.

Shortly afterwards Ormond attended a feast at Ely House in Holborn, and was poisoned there with his household steward and thirty-five of his followers.[2] He lingered for eleven days, and then died. Sixteen of his followers also lost their lives on this occasion. Cox states that it could not be discovered whether this happened by accident or mistake, or were done designedly. The owner of

[1] One of the curious things about English rule in Ireland at this time was that it was based upon the support of a very small English force. There were probably not 1000 English soldiers in all Ireland. Great lords, like the Earls of Desmond and of Ormond, called out all their Irish friends and retainers on the King's service, whenever some great occasion required it. But this arrangement had its drawbacks, for they also called out these forces in their private quarrels, and so became very independent. The warlike chieftains of the districts under their rule acknowledged no other masters or leaders.

[2] October 17, 1546.

Ely House was a friend of Desmond, but the latter had no acute quarrel with Ormond at the time, and in any case, poisoning one's enemies was not a form of crime that appealed to the Irish. Other cases of poisoning and attempted poisoning undoubtedly occurred in Ireland in those years, but they were always traceable to agents of the English Government, whether authorised or unauthorised.

The Four Masters say that Ormond would have been a great loss were it not for all the injuries "he had committed against the Church by the advice of the heretics". This is doubtless a reference to his acquisition of confiscated Abbey lands.

There were European reigning princes less wealthy and powerful than Joan of Desmond, Countess of Ormond, now became. Seven young sons she had. The eldest, the new Earl of Ormond, was born, according to Cox, in 1539 (more likely in 1533, however). He was called Thomas, and the Irish who delighted to use descriptive nicknames, often founded on some pronounced personal feature, called him Thomas Dubh (Dhuv), or Black Thomas. Three of his brothers named Edmond, Edward, and Pierce played a notable part in the events that followed.

A few months after the death of Ormond, Henry VIII. died also (January 1547).

The Bluebeard King has not many sacred poets to sing his praises. Whatever his private character may have been, he certainly organised and strengthened English rule in Ireland. He got himself acknowledged as the first English king of

that country. Before his time the kings were only styled "Lords" of Ireland. In his early days an Irishman sent by McGillapatrick, a chief, or princeling of Ossory, met him going to chapel and stopped him to inform him that McGillapatrick would make war upon him if he did not chastise his Deputy, Red Piers (then Earl of Ossory).[1]

So far from being punished for his audacity, it was proposed to grant a peerage to McGillapatrick some time afterwards.

In Henry's reign the confiscation and re-granting of the Abbey lands first opened the way for that influx of greedy English fortune-hunters who soon came flocking to Ireland like rooks to a cornfield. They were different from the first English adventurers who won their lands by the sword. These latter-day immigrants were lawyers or government clerks who sought to acquire confiscated lands by influence, and who naturally tried to provide that the lands should be confiscated, by every legal quibble that ingenuity could devise. For a century or more they came in crowds, and their advent was a fertile source of the rebellion and unrest that disturbed Ireland for many a day.

[1] "Sta pedibus Domine Rex, Dominus Meus Gillapatricius me misit ad te, et jussit dicere, Quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te" (Cox, vol. i. p. 213). McGillapatrick had been reared at the English Court.

One wonders what would have happened if such a message had been sent to Queen Elizabeth. She would probably have boxed the messenger's ears before sending him to the Tower.

The wearing of Irish costume and the use of the Irish language were formidable obstacles in the way of the King's design of anglicising Ireland. A parliament which was opened on the 1st of May 1536, and which moved about from place to place, sitting in Kilkenny, Cashel, and Limerick, enacted, amongst other things, orders and prohibitions to the following effect:

" That No Subject shall be shaved above his Ears, or wear Glibbs, or Crom-meals " (*i.e.* hair on the upper lip), " or Linnen died in Saffron, or above seven yards of Linnen in their Shifts; and that no Woman wear any Kirtle or Coat tucked up, or embroydered, or garnished with silk, or couched, ne " (nor) " laid with Usker, after the Irish Fashion, and that no Person wear Mantles, Coats or hoods after the Irish Fashion (except Women, Horseboys, Cowboys and Soldiers at the rising out and hostings, all which may wear Mantles). And that everybody shall endeavour to learn the English Language and conform to the English Fashion, etc. etc."[1]

[1] Glibbs were masses of hair that hung down over the foreheads of the native Irish, or were tossed backwards at the whim of the wearers, and the Glibb was probably the " Coulin " of the old Irish song. These statutes do not seem to have produced much effect. Forty or fifty years afterwards Spenser found the Irish wearing their glibbs and mantles as if no law had ever forbidden these practices. Indeed he suggests that, in general, they wore no clothing but the all-sufficing mantle. As for the English language, it was a hothouse plant in Ireland for many a day afterwards. The native Irish chieftains used Latin or Irish, as a rule, in writing to the English Government.

On July 12, 1542, orders of the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland were published for the reformation of certain inhabitants of that kingdom "in parts of Munster".

One of them ordained that "Noblemen shall have but twenty Cubits or Bandles of Linnen in their Shirts. Horsemen eighteen, Footmen sixteen, Garsons" (garçons, gorsoons) "twelve, Clowns ten, and that none of their Shirts shall be dyed with Saffron on pain of Twenty Shillings."[1]

It is well to bear this undoubted evidence in mind when reading Spenser's references to the clothing of the native Irish. For it is clear that even the clowns and boys wore roomy underclothing.

St. Leger, writing to Henry VIII., describes the kern, or foot-soldiers, as clad in "shertes and smallcotes", and says that they fought in the shirt only, this being apparently the long saffron-coloured linen or woollen garment which hung down from the shoulders to the knees.

One of the charges made by Allen against St. Leger was that he did not secure obedience to the King's writ. To this St. Leger replied: "I think it very little further obeyed than it was four years ago, for it is hard to make wild men, who neither know law nor letter" (that is, English law and letter, of course: they had their own laws, and often knew Latin letters surprisingly), "obey the King's process in so short a time. When I came to this land, no man could ride between Limerick and Cashel without a safe-conduct, and pay a crown

[1] Cox, vol. i. p. 272.

for every packe carried a horssebacke." Which raises a picture for us of the traders from towns and cities—English by birth or descent almost to a man—making their way with their pack-horse trains by trackways that can hardly have deserved the name of roads, through wood and plain and morass.

No "mere" Irishman could be admitted to the trade-guilds and corporations in the towns.[1]

Munster was a land literally flowing with milk and honey,[2] and whenever there was any lull in the fighting a certain commerce sprang up. These merchants sold iron and worked-articles of many kinds, as well as wine, salt, spices, etc. They bought wool and hides as well as butter and corn for export. Cattle were the real wealth of the district between Limerick and Cashel, as they are to-day, forming even a sort of currency in the scarcity of money.

The merchants' pack-trains, whenever they travelled without safe-conduct, stood a poor chance of passing unchallenged through the woods and passes swarming with kern, with their mantles of frieze and long glibbs.

Across the track between Limerick and Cashel lay Bourkes at Brittas, and Pallasgrean, and in the Greenane neighbourhood and at Corroge near Tipperary, O'Ryans (Mulryans) at Owney

[1] "Mere" in this connection seems to mean "pure-bred". At any rate it is an epithet which is often applied to Englishmen as well as to the Irish, and cannot carry with it any implication of contempt.

[2] "Of bees good store" (Campion).

CASTLE OF THE M'BRIENS OR O'BRIENS OF CUANACH (GOONAGH), NEAR DOON.

(Abington) and Sologhead, McBrien Goonagh occupying the lands between Doon and Cullen, where he came in touch with the Hiffernans or Heffernans of Shronell and Lattin. And the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanagh probably came in for some of the spoil at Goldenbridge (Golden).[1]

REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

When King Henry died the Earl of Desmond might justifiably take pride in a survey of his people and his possessions. As Lord Palatine he ruled over his subjects almost with royal authority.

[1] The McBriens Goonagh (that is, na gCuanach, "of Cuanach") were a branch of the Dalcassian O'Briens, and relatives of the Desmonds. The ruins of their great castle are still a picturesque object, and are situated on the banks of a wandering streamlet in a townland to which they give its name—Castletown, near Doon. One lofty wall still remains entire to give an idea of the strength of the fortress. In the days of the Land League its summit was occupied by the Leaguers, and a flying column of military actually went with elaborate preparations to dislodge them, only to find that the birds had flown. The castle was then known as "Tim Quinlan's Castle". In the Hearth Money Records a "Teig Quinlan" is found in Castletown in 1665–1667, a curious instance of the persistence of family names in these Irish country districts. The McBriens were unswerving supporters of the Earls of Desmond to the very last. The occupiers of the adjoining barony of Kilnemanagh, the O'Dwyers were, on the other hand, Ormond men, and doubtless these hostile clans often gave evidence of their attachment to the rival houses in many an unrecorded fight on the marches of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary.

He had some family difficulties, however. He did not recognise his eldest son, Thomas Ruadh, or the Red, as heir. This young man was the son of the Earl's divorced wife, but he is also said to have been unbalanced mentally.[1]

But there was the handsome stripling, Gerald (Gerot, or Garret to the Irish), the eldest son by Desmond's second wife, whose youth gave promise of a splendid manhood. High-spirited and brave to rashness, and his father's favourite, it is no wonder that he was popular with all the Geraldine following, or that they looked to him as future head of the Desmonds.

Other gallant sons the Earl had as well as daughters, and if there were any fear of failure of the direct line, had not his fierce brother, Maurice Totein, down there in Kerrycurrihy, sons and daughters too, to uphold the Geraldine sway if need arose? Maurice's elder son, Thomas, died or was slain before he had time to play any striking part in this history, but there remained a second son who was destined to carve his name deeply in the record.

This was James, called Fitzmaurice by the English and McMorris by the Irish, since he was the son of Maurice. Just at this time he must have grown a trifle discontented. Though nephew to the great Earl, he was, after all, but the second son of the second son of the house.

Very likely he found it difficult to submit always to his fierce old father, and then younger sons of

[1] "Hominem non satis compotem mentis" (O'Sullivan, *Catholicæ Iberniæ*).

noble and ambitious spirit have in all times been known to suffer from " divine discontent ", and have often set out to attempt to carve out fortune and fame for themselves in far-off lands.

Thus it was with James Fitzmaurice. This young Geraldine, we are told,[1] became a great traveller in " France, Spaine and the Low Countrys, Germany and Turkye ". As a renowned warrior he had letters of recommendation from the King of France to the Emperor, and from the Emperor (of Germany) to the King of Poland, for whom he fought against the Turks, winning promotion and " greate applause and honor ".

But he came back to his own land again, as we shall see.

The very first of the State Papers in the Irish Calendar in the reign of Edward VI. is a letter from Joan, Countess of Ormond, to the Lord Protector, Somerset, complaining of an imposition of 20s. on every tun of her part of the prize wines, and stating that her husband had committed his son to Somerset's tuition and protection " aldernext " to the King.

Young Ormond evidently became companion and fellow-pupil to the youthful King. At any rate, in Queen Elizabeth's time (1566), we find Cecil writing to Sidney, then Lord Deputy in Ireland, that the Queen's good opinion of Ormond was thought to grow from the memory of his education with that " holly young Salomon, King Edward VI."

[1] Desmond pedigree.

With Cecil's opinion one may venture to disagree. There was not very much of the holy young Solomon about the black Earl, and he was never very much of a Protestant theologian.

One of the first acts of the new King's Council was to recall St. Leger, Desmond's friend, from the Government of Ireland, and appoint Sir Edward Bellingham Lord Deputy in his stead. Desmond, however, easily held his own. Simon Geffre, Vicar of Dungarvan, writing in 1548, says that the Earl of Desmond had made all the lords and gentlemen of Munster be obedient to him, and had the most part of them following him at that hour. The good vicar even accused him of plotting rebellion—unjustly, as events proved.

Joan, Countess of Ormond, married Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Marshal, and one of the Lord Justices of Ireland, within a year or two of her first husband's death. She now occupied a position of great power and importance, as guardian to her son, the new Earl of Ormond, and as a great lady of the house of Desmond at the same time. We find even her cousin, Maurice Totein, applying to her for some position in 1548, and complaining that he is "nothing as yet promoted by my Lord, my brother". The Countess does not appear to have been anxious, however, to have anything to do with the "Burner", for he remained down in Kerrycurrihy.

Joan's husband, Sir Francis Bryan, died about the end of 1549. The Lord Chancellor, Allen, wrote to his brother in England, for the information of the Government, that there was "dis-

pleasure" between the Countesses of Ormond and of Desmond.

Joan had cast eyes of favour, it appears, on young Gerald, the heir of Desmond. Doubtless he was a loveable young ruffler, not unlike one of the quarrelsome sparks in *Romeo and Juliet*, even to the very dress at times. And it may have been that she dreamt of uniting the two great hostile houses so firmly as to enhance the power of both and banish all causes of quarrel between them for ever.

With Gerald the case was different. He was very much younger than she was. Indeed he can only have been a few years older than her son. Ambition doubtless tempted him. And yet he must always have loved and respected her. Marriage ties were treated lightly enough then, and easily broken by divorce; but there is no trace in all his story of any absence of love for her on his part, or affectionate reverence for her memory after her death. She strove faithfully for his welfare at all times.

At any rate the two determined to marry. Allen did not half like the match. He remonstrated with Joan: "her honour first to have to husband so noble a man as she had, and after his death to have so noble a gentleman as this was, by whom she should enjoy an honest portion of living, for little more than a year's pain".[1] Allen's remonstrance must have been directed against undue haste, for he adds: "so as in thende she promised me upon hir honor that she wolde live sole for oon yere".

She married Gerald in the end, however, and

[1] *C.S.P.*, February 1550.

they seem to have lived happily enough together, though the marriage by no means ended the strife between the houses of Desmond and Ormond. As to the main items of Joan's dowry, the Desmonds seemed to think that they had got them back by this marriage. It has been said that James, Earl of Desmond, refused to recognise the Ormond claims, because the Ormonds had not recognised him as Earl. On the other hand, the young Earl of Ormond apparently came in time to regard himself as the proper heir to his mother's possessions. Moreover the Ormonds never submitted to any limitation to their claims to the whole county of Tipperary other than the parts originally belonging to the Church, and even then known as the " County of the Cross ".

The quarrel had mainly to do with Clonmel, Kilsheelan, and Kilfeakle, as well as the prize wines of Youghal and Kinsale.

There was Onaght (Eoganacht), too. This place lay on the borders of County Tipperary. It is shown in Donohill district in the map of Munster published in *Pacata Hibernia*. " The Onoghe ", we are told,[1] " is a country that ought only be the Queen's Majesty's, and the continual strife between the Garrentines (Geraldines) and the Butlers was chiefly for it. There is within the four castles of the Queen's Majesty's and the freeholders in Donogholey, Doneskeoghe, Grennon, and Corregan." [2]

[1] *Carew MSS.* vol. i. p. 266.

[2] " Corregan " is not now identifiable. There is no trace of a castle at Corroge near Tipperary, though possibly

"Onaght" belonged to the King, but was just now leased to the Earl of Desmond, whose claims must occasionally have come into irritating conflict with those of the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Palatine of the county.

Kilfeakle, too, became a subject of bitter controversy at a later stage. The Geraldines had control of the place at this time. Some years after Joan's death an inquiry was held in 1572. The following is a curious extract from its finding:

"The barony" (*sic*) "of Kilfickel in the said county has been hitherto demised for the finding and receiving of the said Earl" (Desmond) "and his train at the constable's charge for two days and nights as often as he goes thither, but if the Earl tarry above the said time he finds flesh and wine for himself and his train, and the constable all other kinds of victuals, viz. bread, ale, aqua vitæ, butter, pork, mutton, hens, chickens, and suchlike. This manor has been in the Earl of Ormond's hands since the Countess's death."[1]

It is rather curious to find it implied that pork,

Corrogan (Corrogeen?) may have been the original name of the neighbouring little mote-crowned hill at Kingswell. Donohill, Doneskeagh, and Greenane are still there within three to five miles from Tipperary. Traces or records of castles exist at all three places. They serve to locate the territory of Eoganacht generally. Onaght must have adjoined the lands of the manor of Kilfeakle and stretched thence by Sologhead to the borders of County Limerick. As we have seen, it may have included Tipperary town.

[1] *Carew MSS.* vol. i. p. 418.

mutton, and domestic fowl are not "flesh". The meaning, however, seems to be that the Earl was to find the rarer or more expensive forms of flesh, such as venison or game, or even beef, after the first two days, whilst the constable of Kilfeakle found the commoner kinds of meat and drink. If this is not a sample of "coyne and livery", it approaches it very nearly.

From all this it appears that Kilfeakle once had its day. It is a very quiet little place now, containing only three or four houses and a church. It is hard to imagine that a governor of Ireland ever lived in its mote-castle, and that its ownership was disputed by two powerful Earls. It is difficult to picture Countess Joan riding up its hill in state with her train of women and her guard of soldiery. On the crest of this steep hill, by the roadside, between Tipperary (four miles away) and Cashel, stands its mote. Though some slight traces of stonework are still visible on this mound, it is unlikely that it is the site of the house or castle which was a dwelling-place of Desmonds and Ormonds in turn. It has no special Irish name or tradition as far as can be traced, nor is there any reference to it in the older Irish documents. It is almost certainly the site of the castle erected by the English in 1192, and, later on, taken and destroyed by the O'Briens and McCarthys—the Dal-gCais and Eoganacht united for once. Six or seven furlongs away to the north there stand the remains of a castle or strong tower. These lie within the same townland. Probably this castle was the "house" referred to in later records, and the

dwelling-place of the constable or representative of the owner.[1]

Very few other traces remain to witness to the ancient importance of the place. "Vills" like Kilfeakle seem to have often grown up round castles or manor-houses and depended for protection on the power of the lords of those places. They differed much from the walled towns where the English merchants and traders dwelt. Allen wrote in 1549 to the effect that the Scots and wild Irishmen contended only for liberty. The towns were incorporate upon condition that none of the Irish blood or nation should be of their corporation.[2] Liberty was all that the wild Irish wanted. And, it may be added, they have been looking for it almost ever since.

Even in those days there was jealousy of Irish trade. In October 1550 the Deputy, St. Leger, and the Council prohibited the exportation of wool, tallow, butter, linen, yarn, etc., from Ireland. They give the amazing reason that it (the exportation) "only encouraged idleness".

The religious controversy now became much more acute, though even yet it did not affect the common people very directly. Henry VIII. had been content to confiscate the abbeys and deny the Pope's authority. Under Edward VI. adherence to Protestant beliefs was more fully demanded. The Mass was forbidden, and extreme pressure brought to bear on the prelates and ecclesiastics of

[1] There are also the ruins of a manor-house near at hand, but it is clearly of comparatively modern type.

[2] *C.S.P.*

Ireland to introduce the new forms of worship. Archbishop Browne of Dublin proved complaisant, but the primate, Archbishop Dowdall of Armagh, with most of the other bishops and priests, resisted. Bellingham wrote to him in 1548, cautioning him to be circumspect and to set forth the plain, simple, and naked truth. Not seeing the truth from Bellingham's angle he was deprived of his primacy. He said he would never "be bishop where the holy Mass was abolished". This was the beginning of the religious persecution that grew to be so cruel and sanguinary within twenty or thirty years.[1]

Desmond appears to have trimmed his sails to suit the wind. In 1552 Northumberland wrote to Cecil stating that Desmond was of no religion, or "if any, of the old one".

In the same year he was trying to get back Dungarvan. In December he exhibited his title to that place and related how it was wrenched from him by the Earl of Ormond.

About this time the anglicisation of Ireland was the steady policy of the Government. Amongst the State Papers there is a "Device for the better government of Ireland", under the conditions of which no one should hold the office of Lord Deputy for more than one year. Every third year a "mere" Englishman was to be Deputy.

Just then (1553) King Edward died.

[1] The primate was restored in the time of Queen Mary, but again driven out into exile in Elizabeth's reign.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY

Queen Mary's first act in connection with Ireland was to write to St. Leger, then Lord Deputy, ordering him amongst other things to restore the old religion and "think of a Council for Munster". The only object of the latter must have been a desire to curb the Desmond power.

The restoration of the old religion appears to have been carried out as far as the form of worship was concerned, but there does not seem to be any evidence of the restoration of the property plundered from the religious orders.

Indeed the Queen was sometimes as stout an assertor of her ecclesiastical claims as her father had been. The Earl of Tyrone, for example, made some requests in 1558. One was that his chaplain, Edmond Coyne, who had obtained the Pope's bulls qualifying him for the "priorye of the cathedrall churche of Down", might be established in that Priory. Her Majesty replied: "Ye shall declare unto the said Erle that wee intende to maynteyne our prerogative lefte unto us by our Progenitours in that behalf."[1]

About 1556 Desmond was again pressing his claims to the manor of Dungarvan. He complained that it had been granted to James Walshe by sinister means. The Walshes were friends to the Ormond interest. He sent his chaplain "Sir Dorby ne Royne" to the Privy Council in England to plead his case. In particular, he

[1] *C.S.P.*, July 6, 1558.

stated at length his claim to Dungarvan, and to the prize wines of Youghal and Kinsale "granted of late to the Earl of Ormond".

Young Ormond had now begun to claim his inheritance, and set his friends at work to forward his interests. On March 11, 1556, he had been granted the royalties, knight's fees, and liberties, as well within the manors of "Clonemell, Killfekil, and Kilsheelan, as in all other places of the county Tipperary . . . also the prize wines, as well in the ports of Youghal and Kinsale as in all the other parts of Ireland," etc.

This is doubtless the grant referred to by Desmond. It is very comprehensive, involving nearly all the subjects of dispute between Ormond and Desmond, who was no favourite with King or Queen apparently. The patent recites the grant of Edward III., and seems to be a definite record of Ormond's right to the things specified therein.

Two things are noticeable about this patent. It is based solely upon the grant of Edward III., ignoring all the Desmond rights and Joan's marriage settlement altogether. In the second place, it seems to have had no effect at the time. The quarrel about the manors and the rights in question took its course for many a year just as if no such patent had ever been granted. Probably the young Earl simply desired to record his family claims entirely apart from his mother's marriage settlement. At any rate the patent seems to have carried little weight in the controversies that arose later.

Young Ormond appears to have had consider-

able influence at the Court of Mary. In June 1558 the then Lord Deputy, Sussex, wrote to the Queen asking for a grant of the "Abbey of Athassell" for Ormond. "As the value of these lands is small the Earl of Ormond should have other lands, that he may enjoy the full benefit of the grant of £88." [1]

"In September of the same year he was granted the site, ambit, and possessions of the late Monastery of Athassell in the county of Tipperary, containing two acres, a ruined church, belfry, hall, four chambers, a kitchen, barn, close, two orchards, a garden, water-mill, 120 acres of arable land, 60 acres of pasture land, being part of the demesne lands of the monastery; 260 acres of arable land, 50 acres of underwood in the townland of Athasshell; eight messuages, 180 acres of arable land, 40 acres of pasture and a water-mill in Relickmore" (Relickmurry), "a castle called Gowlin" (Golden), "four messuages, 150 acres of arable land, 30 acres of pasture in the old town of Athashell", and the lands of various other abbeys, such as Kilcooley and the friaries of Callan, Thurles, Tullaghfelim, etc., "to hold the monastery of Athassell and all its possessions for ever by military service, that is to say by the twentieth part of a knight's fee, as scutage runs".[2]

The £88 a year which the Queen wished to grant to Ormond needed a lot of making up. In the patent from which the above extract is taken he is given nearly 4000 acres of land at a nominal

[1] *C.S.P.*

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Morrin, vol. i. pp. 385-386.

rent, besides numerous castles, abbeys, buildings, and messuages.

In 1558 Desmond sought for a dispensation for the marriage of his daughter, Honoria, with McCarthy More. It is evident that the contract for her marriage with young Ormond had been broken off. He probably refused to fulfil it.

Desmond was not in such high favour at Court during this reign as his rival, Ormond. He was on friendly terms with Donough O'Brien, who was at feud with the head of his own house, the Earl of Thomond. The Queen, in a letter, refers to these two O'Briens as " her subject, the Earl of Thomond, and her rebel, Sir Donough O'Brien, the only stay of all the rebels in these quarters ". And then she had confiscated the lands of the O'Connors of Offaly, who were relatives of Desmond. She had to deal with the powerful Earl carefully. She declined to give him a patent for Dungarvan until he should have stated more minutely the particulars of the lands. Meantime she directed Sussex to treat him with circumspection.[1]

The Earl was now in failing health, however, and premature rumours of his death were afloat. At last Sussex wrote to the Queen on October 31, 1558, informing her that the Earl of Desmond was then certainly dead.

In a few weeks afterwards Mary herself died and Elizabeth ascended the throne.

[1] *C.S.P.*

ORMONDS AND DESMONDS WHEN ELIZABETH BECAME QUEEN

Earl James left his title and his wide possessions to his second son, Gerald, to the exclusion of his eldest son by his divorced wife.

This disinherited son was named Thomas Ruadh, or Red Thomas.

This arrangement was quite proper according to Irish Brehon law, but was wholly at variance with English law and custom which gave the right of succession to the eldest son.

English historians account for the Government's acceptance of the situation by stigmatising Thomas as illegitimate, with no authority whatever beyond the fact that his father had divorced his mother on the grounds that they were too nearly related.

It was on similar grounds that Henry VIII. had parted from Catherine of Aragon. If Thomas Ruadh was " illegitimate ", then so was the late Queen Mary. If not, then Elizabeth was—what?

A difficult question, solved simply by accepting Gerald's nomination without comment.

His inheritance was a splendid one. More than 300 Desmond castles acknowledged his lordship, and when he unfurled his banner 600 noble or gentle scions of his race led their clansmen and kern to his aid. The power and possessions of his wife fitly matched his own. Even Elizabeth herself might well hesitate to attack so powerful a subject—unless she could find one just as powerful and set the two at variance.

By chance she found in the long run such an instrument just at hand.

Gerald, in his younger days, had given ample evidence of possessing a proud and ambitious character. In 1551 the Earl, his father, had ordered him to be brought before him on a charge of raiding "Owen McCartan and the O'Mahons" in company with his fierce and savage old uncle, Maurice of the Burnings.[1]

Later on he had raided the lands of the powerful McCarthy Reagh, and sought to repeat the operation in the country of McCarthy of Muskerry. The son of that chieftain, Dermot McTeig, gathered his forces and met Gerald in battle, but was overthrown and imprisoned for a year and a half in Askeaton Castle. Gerald ultimately released him at the prayer of his wife, a daughter of Maurice the Burner.[2]

Like others of his race Gerald was held by many to be the handsomest man of his time, and everything seemed to promise a glorious and prosperous future for this favourite of fortune.

But never were hopes so cruelly disappointed.

[1] These are not southern names. O'Mahon is hardly even Irish. Probably the real names were McCarthy and O'Mahony, and they were transformed by the chroniclers as above.

[2] O'Daly states that it was Edmond McTeig who fought this battle, and that he imprisoned Gerald for six years at Askeaton. It is just an instance of the occasional confusions and contradictions in the chronicles of the time. Askeaton was a great Geraldine stronghold, and was not even near the country of any of the McCarthys.

In all history there are few stories so tragical as that which we have now to tell. He lost all, and brought irretrievable ruin upon his race and his followers.

The young Earl of Ormond was also very good to look upon, and his power and possessions were almost as great as those of his stepfather Gerald.

He had been brought up mainly in England and knew well the ways of its Court. From the first he was a favourite of Elizabeth, who called him playfully her "black husband". The Irish knew him as Thomas Dubh, or the "Black". The Queen, apart from her liking for being surrounded by handsome courtiers, may have felt that she owed him something. His grandfather had given up his claims to the earldom of Ormond in favour of Sir Thomas Boleyn, the Queen's grandfather, at the request of Henry VIII. This was Piers, who received the earldom of Ossory as compensation, and who subsequently got back his earldom of Ormond on the disgrace of the Boleyns. As Anne Boleyn was Queen Elizabeth's mother, it is probable enough that the Queen remembered all this in Ormond's favour.

At any rate he stood very high in the royal regard and repaid the Queen's friendship with unswerving loyalty. He was what might be called a political Protestant for the greater part of his life, upholding the Queen's supremacy in religious as in all other matters. But he showed himself very tolerant to the professors of the old faith, and was much more inclined to shelter and protect than to

persecute or torture them. Indeed he died a Catholic.[1]

Ormond was much less impetuous than Gerald, and rarely allowed himself to be moved to rash or imprudent action. Whilst apparently cold and unemotional, he had noble qualities. He was brave when need arose, and a capable stern ruler over his own unmanageable followers. Even when high in favour with the Queen he has been known to reject indignantly suggestions made to him by her or by her Secretary of State, involving some base or treacherous action.[2]

The supposed murder of his father must have cast a dark shadow over his youth. It will be remembered that Earl James was poisoned at a feast at Ely House, whose owner was Desmond's friend, and it is only too probable that whisperings implicating the Desmonds ran round the Court, and that some of them reached young Ormond's ears.

[1] O'Daly and Russell think that the Queen favoured Ormond because she was of the house of Lancaster, and the Ormonds were always on the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses, whilst the Desmonds were Yorkists. The last is about the only strictly accurate statement in this series. Elizabeth was descended from Henry VII., the head of the house of Lancaster in his day, but his wife, Elizabeth, was heiress of the house of York, and therefore Queen Elizabeth was equally related to both houses. Nor were the Ormonds invariably Lancastrians. They worshipped the risen sun of York for a while in the time of Edward IV.

[2] *Life of McCarthy Mor*, p. 329. "Taking of the Earl of Ormond", *Kilk. Arch. Journal.*

It is really improbable that the Desmonds poisoned Earl James. There was no very serious enmity between the two Earls at the time. The houses were so closely allied that the young Ormond was almost as much of a Geraldine as Gerald himself. His mother was, as we know, daughter and heiress of an Earl of Desmond, and his grandmother, wife of Piers, was daughter to the Geraldine Earl of Kildare.

If the poisoning of James was not accidental, it is far more likely that it was effected by agents of the Council in Dublin than by the Desmonds. Nevertheless it must have been impossible to prevent a shade of dark suspicion resting in the mind of the young son of the victim.

He was not imaginative, however, or we might have had a Hamlet in real life twenty years before Shakespere put his Prince of Denmark on the stage.

Ormond ruled over the county of Kilkenny and part of Carlow, as well as over the greater part of the county of Tipperary, where he had his palatine rights. He had many other rights and appanages.

Here, then, were those two young men, stepfather and stepson, come newly into great inheritances, with proud traditions of hostility to one another, and with several subjects of quarrel ready to hand. Is it any wonder that the sparks were fanned until they grew to a devouring flame that swept over nearly all Munster and left it in ashes?

The subjects of dispute were the old ones—the rights over Kilfeakle, Kilsheelan, and Clonmel;

the prize wines of Youghal and Kinsale; some quarrel about Dungarvan, and jealousy about "Onaght" (the Eoganacht land near Tipperary) as well as about Owney in County Limerick.[1]

Countess Joan and her husband appear to have lived at Kilfeakle when they pleased, and she probably exercised her rights over Kilsheelan and Clonmel undisturbed during her lifetime.

Gerald is reported to have paid a visit to London in the early days of Elizabeth's reign, though the exact date is not given by the careless old chroniclers. It is said that he was attended by a hundred of his principal followers. Very likely Joan went too. At any rate she was acquainted with the Queen and they corresponded at times.

THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE TWO EARLS

The first evidence of any contention between Gerald and his stepson, the young Earl of Ormond, appears in the State Papers in July 1559.

The Earl of Desmond petitioned, amongst other things, to be restored to the possession of Dungarvan, and to have a grant of the cantred of Onaght, and a lease of the abbey of Wotheny in the county of Limerick.

Wotheny is Owney, or Abington. The abbey there was founded by Theobald Fitz-Walter, the first of the Butlers in Ireland. He is said to have

[1] Onaght was now a Desmond leasehold within Ormond's palatine county of Tipperary. Owney was in the heart of a county (Limerick) where Desmond's lordship was supreme. The Ormonds had ancient rights there.

been buried there, and the Ormond claims to this part of the county of Limerick had long been an annoyance to the Desmonds.

At the same time the Earl of Ormond petitioned for certain grants and privileges, including the "farm" of Onaght, after the Earl of Desmond ("farm" here means the renting, not the place itself); and he also writes to Desmond regarding the prize wines of Youghal.

It was about this land of Eoganacht (Onaght) near Tipperary, then, that the quarrel started. That justifies a further description here.

This is the old cantred of Okenach or Oconach of Otho de Grandison. We have seen that it included Sologhead, Donohill, and Doneskeagh, if not Tipperary itself. According to the map of "Mounster" in *Pacata Hibernia* it is a district lying between the Suir and the borders of County Limerick, though there are no outlines.

The *Carew MSS.* give a list of the septs inhabiting the barony of East Clanwilliam in 1600. They are the "Burkes of Muskrie, the Burkes of Onaught, the Burkes of Coshnaie, part of the O'Briens of Arloghe".[1]

In the "State of Ireland, Anno 1598" we find that the county of Tipperary "contayneth the Countries of the Omulryans, Odwyers, upper and nether Ormond, a part of Conshelaghe, Cosheshany, Muskry Wherke, a great part of Ar(k)lo, and all Onaught".[2]

[1] *Carew Calendar*, p. 513.

[2] There was another place called Onagh and Onaght, viz. "Onagh I Donoghoe at Killarney". O'Donovan

" Onaught " fairly represents the pronunciation of " Eoganacht " as it would have been heard by the clerks and writers of Elizabeth's time.

The Eoganacht, we may remember, were the descendants and people of Eogan, son of Olioll Olom, King of Munster in the third century. They shared the sovereignty of that province alternately with the Dalcassians, or people of Cormac Cas, brother of Eogan. These princely families paid neither rent nor tribute for their lands (*Leabhar na g-Ceart*). There was another Eoganacht (Ionachcassel) somewhere near Cashel —probably in the Athassel-Knockgraffon district—but the " Grianan " was at Greenane near Tipperary in the Eoganacht situated there.[1]

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says that this is " Eoganacht Ui Donnchada anglicised " (*Leabhar na g-Ceart*, p. 60, note).

[1] The Grianan was originally a ladies' bower, or summer residence. Later the name was sometimes applied to a palace.

The famous Grianan of Ailech, for example, ultimately became a residence for kings. The Grianan was usually situated in some place affording a beautiful prospect, and this is emphatically the case with Greenane, though the trees to-day rather interfere with the view.

There can be no room for doubt that this was the Grianan of the famous Eoganacht. There are some large raths there still, and some considerable remains of irregular earthen structures, as well as a "Church field" with a few traces of a very old church and the foundation of a circular hut, at the rear of the adjacent Friarsfield. In further extracts from the State Papers we shall find references to the "Grenan of Onaght", and in the *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls* (Morrin, *Charles I.* vol. i. p. 601) we find the following:

O'Donovan tells us [1] that the families of the O'Sullivans and McCarthys, who had been previously seated in the great plain of Munster, were driven by the English into Kerry about 1192. It was doubtless then that they lost their Grianan and their Eoganacht lands. They had acquired these originally by driving out or suppressing the Ara.[2] These were the Ara who gave its name to Tiobraid Arann, and who held extensive territories

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"Licence to Sir Hardresse Waller to hold a market every Thursday at the town of Grennanonaght, in the county of Tipperary; and two fairs, one on the feast of St. James, and the other on the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, to continue two days."

Now this Sir Hardress Waller, who got this patent on November 27, 1632, from Charles I., subsequently became one of the leading opponents of that ill-fated King. He was one of the sixty-nine regicides publicly condemned on the restoration of Charles II. As such his lands had escaped confiscation in Cromwell's time. At the Restoration his lands in King's County were confiscated, but for some special reason those in County Tipperary were not. Probably his heirs were zealous royalists or had much influence at Court. At any rate his relatives, the Southcotes, inherited Greenane, and the present owner derives title from them. So that the identification of Grennanonaght with our modern Greenane is indisputable. The theory has been advanced that Rathnaveen, half a mile away, was the Rath of the Warriors, or Rath of the Fianna, and that Coolnagun, another adjoining townland, was the place where the hunting-dogs were kept. That may be so, but there is no written authority for such derivations. They differ from Greenane in that respect. The latter place lies about three miles west of Kilfeakle.

[1] *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, p. 47. [2] *Ibid.* note, p. 46.

between that place and Cullen, and at Knockaney. The Eoganacht had lands about Cashel as well.[1]

This is the same cantred of Eoganacht, the possession of which is about to be disputed by our two Earls. It had fallen back into the hands of the sovereign, but the descendants or people of the Bourkes remain upon the lands all over the barony of Clanwilliam, intermingled with the Irish sub-tenants.

Greenane is between two and three miles from Tipperary, and it is clear that the land was once all Eoganacht territory and a royal inheritance. Standing on the crest of the low ridge there one can see this territory of Onaght sweeping away to the north and west over the rich plains of the Golden Vein. If one look out on its southern side, there the Galtees form a background to a rich prospect of intricate green or wooded hills whose colouring fades into the purples of the great mountains behind—a prospect truly fitted for a kingly pleasaunce.

The young Earl of Desmond was naturally eager for military glory on entering upon his magnificent inheritance, and an opportunity for acquiring it soon presented itself.

The Earl of Thomond laid siege to the stronghold of the sons of his relative, Murrough O'Brien in Clare. One of the latter was in attendance upon Gerald as a member of his household and a friend. This young Clare gentleman besought the help of his powerful chieftain, and Gerald instantly

[1] Ionachcassel, probably in Athassel district; see *C.D.I.* vol. i. p. 192, etc.

responded to the appeal. He raised a force of 500 foot and 60 horse, over whom he appointed his half-brother, Thomas Ruadh, as captain, and crossing the Shannon near Castleconnell marched to the aid of the O'Briens. The Earl of Thomond had, in the meantime, secured the help of the Earl of Clanricard in his enterprise, but the two Earls raised the siege on learning of Gerald's approach. They gathered all the troops they could in haste, and fell upon the less numerous forces of the Geraldines who were retreating on their approach. Gerald faced the situation bravely, animated his soldiers with vigorous exhortations, and made such a gallant counter-attack that he overthrew his opponents with great slaughter, and compelled the allied Earls to seek safety in flight. He then returned, unhindered, to his own country, his men laden with plunder.[1]

Fortunate as the result may have seemed for the Earl of Desmond, it was unhappy, since it was not calculated to lessen his natural impetuosity or to teach him prudence. Neither was it likely to make him more yielding in his dispute with his stepson, Ormond.

This dispute became more and more acute, and the two Earls grew to dislike one another more and more, until at length they agreed to decide the quarrel by the sword.

They arranged to meet in battle on a given day, and the place appointed was Bohermore, in the neighbourhood of Cnamhcoill (the hills of Corroge) near Tipperary. Russell says that the Earl of

[1] *A.F.M.*, and Russell's *Relation of the Geraldines.*

Desmond had there 4000 foot and 750 horse, mostly his own followers, but including most of the chief lords and leading gentlemen of Munster. Ormond had as many men and had also some cannon.

It is a curious commentary on the weakness of the English Government of the time to find the followers of those great nobles assembling in such force near Tipperary town, without the slightest reference to Queen Elizabeth, and apparently without seeing any need for seeking her permission. But Elizabeth at her accession had only 1360 foot and 320 horse in all Ireland.[1] She was dependent on powerful nobles like these for help in time of any real stress. That state of affairs was gradually altered, however. Yet at all times she had plenty of native Irish soldiers fighting for her, knowing little of or caring less for the merits of her quarrels. For Ireland has never learnt to appreciate the value of the fable of the old man with the bundle of sticks, or the fatal consequences of domestic jealousies and strife.[2]

According to O'Donovan, Bohermore is the road leading from Tipperary to Cashel. Somewhere near the point where it crosses the hills of Corroge these masses of armed men were ranked for battle.[3]

[1] Cox.

[2] In later times Elizabeth had 20,000 soldiers in Ireland.

[3] Just there nearly six hundred years before the great Brian Boroimhe himself, leading the swift-footed followers of his brother, King Mahon, and marching from Cashel, had attacked the heavily-armed Danish soldiery and taken "little less . . . than a hundred heads" in a preliminary skirmish heralding the decisive overthrow of the Munster

Desmond, we can be certain, was followed to the field by O'Briens or McBriens from Coonagh and Aherlow, and Bourkes from the two Clanwilliams, not to speak of the Irish of West Limerick, Cork, and Kerry, or the local septs of Ryans, Heffernans, Quirkes, McGraths, etc., etc. His followers could see the Rock of Cashel in the distance and the outlines of the coveted Kilfeakle hill three miles away, where perhaps the clouds of dust may have heralded the approach of Ormond's army. With the latter marched the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanagh, ready to seek vengeance for many a border raid. A mile away to Desmond's left lay the Grianan of the Eoganacht, so that the quarrel was to have been fought out almost on the disputed grounds.[1]

There on the hills of Corroge, above what was left of Tipperary town, the two armies faced each other for fourteen days, whilst the heart-stricken wife of one leader and mother of the other went from camp to camp, remonstrating with, imploring, and importuning those whom she so loved to come to some agreement and live in peace. She was helped by some of the great nobles who were

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Danes at Sologhead (A.D. 968, *Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*).

[1] The Four Masters say that the dispute was concerned with the ownership of some lands that lay along the river Suir (a possible allusion to Clonmel and Kilsheelan) and the Eoganacht of Cashel. Russell attributes the quarrel to "mutual taking of preys" and to disputes "concerning mearing and bounding their several patrimonies and seignories which lay partly the one bordering upon the others".

not enamoured with the prospect of bloodshed in such a quarrel.

It must have been a matter of great relief and rejoicing to the good Countess when her efforts were at length successful. The Almighty sent his Angel of Peace, according to the Four Masters, and the Earls became reconciled, at least on the surface, for the time, and the large forces dissolved without any fighting.

Other young Geraldines were ambitious for military distinction in this same year (1560). We are told that Thomas and James, the sons of Maurice Dubh (that is, Black Maurice of the Burnings), raided the territory of their brother-in-law, McCarthy Reagh.[1] The latter, however, had as visitor at the time one of the Sweenies of Donegal with a band of gallowglasses. With the aid of these formidable allies he routed his attackers, 200 or 300 of the latter being slain or drowned in the river Bandon. Quite likely this occurred on the return of the Geraldines from Corroge.

The elder of these Geraldine brothers died in 1563. The younger lived to write his name on a very remarkable page of the story of the Desmonds and of the glen of Aherlow.[2]

[1] *A.F.M.*

[2] The name Fitzgerald was so common by this time that its wearers adopted the Irish custom of using patronymics to distinguish them from numerous cousins or other relatives with like Christian names. The James in question was always known as James Fitzmaurice—or James, son of Maurice—to the Anglo-Irish, the Irish varying the name to McMorris or McMorish.

His name became well known to England, and we can

This raid could hardly have taken place without the knowledge of the fierce old Maurice, and it is probable that his sons met with anything but a warm welcome from him on their return after this disastrous failure. Indeed it is rather likely that it was at this time that James went off to France and Spain and to Poland to fight the Turks for the next two or three years.

The Government in this year appointed a Commission to inquire into the dispute between the two Earls. It sat at Clonmel in August. Its principal member was Sir George Stanley, marshal of the army. It made an award in favour of the Earl of Desmond.

This never seemed to have any effect. The reason is not very clear. Possibly the Queen, sure of Ormond's fidelity, was merely anxious to secure Desmond's in the presence of a menace now looming large in northern Ireland.

There Shane O'Neill—Shane the Proud—was inclined to assert a wide independence of English rule and English control. We shall have to glance here and there at his story. As a study of tortuous diplomacy, if of nothing worse, it makes interesting reading. For shame drove English ministers to the employment of some curious shifts and devices before he was finally disposed of. Even the Queen herself once had to write apologetically to her Lord Lieutenant, Sussex, suggesting that he

guess where Shakespere got his Irish captain's name. There were other Fitzmaurices in Kerry who had used the name for a long time. These were the Geraldine lords of Lixnaw.

should " bear some burthen rather than see the Queen forced to grant Shane pardon, before his submission as before ",[1] which is certainly language of the tamest for a Gloriana.

At an earlier date Sussex had written [2] proposing to one Neal Gray to " kylle " Shane O'Neill, and also wrote to the Queen telling her what the message to Gray had been: " If he will not do that " (which) " he may in your service, there will be done to him what others may." Meaning if Gray did not assassinate Shane he would probably meet with a very rough time.[3]

Ormond did not disband all his forces either without a little military exercise. At the close of this year (1560) he distinguished himself by attacking an assembly of the O'Mores, who were in rebellion, at Holy Cross Abbey.

Shane O'Neill's affairs, however, soon became so threatening that the Government sought the help of both the southern Earls, and this prevented any new disputes arising for a time.

Perhaps the respite affords an opportunity of examining the conditions under which the people of Munster lived about this time.

SPENSER

Our Irish authorities on this period are invariably chroniclers pure and simple. They tell us of

[1] *C.S.P.*, Aug. 7, 1563. [2] *C.S.P.*, Aug. 24, 1561.

[3] This is the letter quoted as a precedent later on by Sir John Perrot, when he sought unavailingly for Government authority to have some of his Irish opponents removed by poison.

happenings to kings and chieftains, but there is very little to be found in them as to the habits and ways of the hundreds of thousands of ordinary Irishmen who thronged the land, so that we have to turn to English writers for information of the kind.

The English are a very great people with many admirable virtues. But they have never been handicapped in their victorious march over half a world by any tendency to estimate too generously the virtues of their foes, or to overlook their faults. On the contrary, no slander concerning those whom they are fighting against seems to be too foolish for their consumption.

This kind of thing is noticeable in the case of almost every English writer on Irish affairs from Giraldus Cambrensis to Froude. Hardly any one of them escapes from making injurious statements about the Irish which are demonstrably false. And the failing was at least as marked in the days of Elizabeth as at any other time. It is very necessary to bear this fact in mind when examining the works of English writers of that period.

The reign of Elizabeth was one in which adventurers flourished. Gallant fighters by land and sea, tempted by tales of the Golden Lands beyond the Spanish Main, set forth in their small ships to attack the great galleons and "armathoes" of Spain and to "singe the beard" of its king. These had often served an apprenticeship in Ireland. Gold was not very plentiful there, but from the plunder of the abbeys or from the property of some attainted rebel a grant of fair and

fertile lands might sometimes be obtained. The names of noted soldiers and courtiers and of one eminent poet appear in the Irish records of the time. These records add very little lustre to the fame of Essex, of Raleigh, of Greenfield (Sir Richard Grenville of the glorious sea fight at "Flores in the Azores"), of Gilbert, or even of Edmond Spenser, the gentle Court poet, who came over to Ireland, some twenty years later than the period we have now reached, as secretary to the then Lord Deputy Grey.

Like some other literary men he fancied that he knew something about statecraft and military matters, and wrote a book in which he analysed the evils that afflicted Ireland. Incidentally he gave some information as to the manners and customs of the people. He lived for some time at Kilcolman, just under the shadow of the Ballyhoura range of mountains—a continuation of the Galtees. A journey of fifteen or twenty miles would bring him to Aherlow glen. He has mentioned the place more than once in his writings, and made Diana descend with her train, in true classical fashion, on old "Mole", the highest point of the mountain range.[1]

Spenser has noted one or two things favourable to the Irish.

In a well-known passage he says that the Irishman, when disciplined, made as brave a soldier as any, was "comely", and "cometh on bravely to his charge". He had some knowledge of the

[1] Almost certainly Galtymore. See Joyce's *Wonders of Ireland*, article on Spenser's "Irish Rivers".

ancient civilisation of the Irish, and found in their poetry "sweet wit and good invention". And this about exhausts the list of the virtues of the Irish as seen by Spenser.

He says that the sword was never out of their hands, but when they were weary of wars, and brought down to extreme wretchedness, then they creep a little perhaps and sue for grace, till they have gotten new breath and recovered their strength again.

He describes the Irish cavaliers as wearing robes of sheklaton, "which is that kind of gilded leather with which they used to embroider their Irish jackets". Their gallowglasses were clad in mail and heavily armed; their kerns or footmen armed with spears, with skeans or daggers, with small bows shooting light, sharp, deadly arrows.

Campion describes the better sort of Irish as wearing in peace time "linen shirts . . . for wantoness and bravery, with wide sleeves plaited, thirty yards are little enough for one of them."

Spenser says that the ordinary people kept cattle, which they drove into the mountains from time to time. They appear to have led a nomadic kind of existence within their own territories, removing their cattle from one district to another as the grass was eaten down. Some of them owned large herds, but the industry was a precarious one in Munster, particularly after the death of Earl James of Desmond. For there rarely was a time when, even if there was no fighting with the English Government, there was not some border foray, or some inter-tribal war on foot. And the alarm-signals

by fires or horn-blowing must have been frequently in evidence, for "preying" or going on forays in search of cattle was a feature of these struggles.

The people spoke the Irish language and, outside the towns, were governed almost entirely by their own laws and customs. Even the Anglo-Irish had adopted these.

They lived lives so wholly detached from the English scheme of government that English writers comprehended little about them. They had their own traditions and music, and fought and worked and amused themselves in their own ways, without the smallest reference to English ideas.

He also says that the Irish went into battle without armour on their bodies or heads, trusting for the defence of the latter to the thickness of their "glibbes" or long masses of hair. He speaks of their confused kind of march "in heaps without any order or array, their clashing of swords together, their fierce running upon their enemies".

Three things in Ireland he found much fault with: the laws (whether English or Irish), the customs, and the religion of the people.

As regards laws, the native Irish were ruled almost entirely by their own Brehon laws. These were defective in some points according to modern standards, especially in their condonation of murder on the payment of an "eric" or fine.

In this respect they were doubtless more suited to the pagan times, when they were first instituted, than to the days of Elizabeth.

Nevertheless the Irish might well be excused

for preferring them to the English laws which afforded little or no redress of any kind for the murder of an Irishman by an Englishman. Not even a fine! [1]

As regards Irish customs, there were many grievances if one only looked at them from the English standpoint. There was the wearing of the terrible mantle, for example.

Those mantles appear to have been capacious cloaks, probably of wool or frieze. The garment was, according to Spenser's indictment, "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief. . . . Likewise for a rebel it is serviceable. For in his war that he maketh (if, at least, it deserve the name of war) when he still flieth from his foes, and lurketh in the thick woods and strait passages, waiting for advantages, it is his bed yea and almost his household stuff. For the wood is his house against all weathers and his mantle is his couch to sleep in. Herein he wrappeth himself round, and coucheth himself strongly against the gnats, which in that country do more among the naked rebels, whilst they keep the woods, and do more sharply wound them than all their enemies' swords or spears which can seldom come nigh them. Yea and oftentimes their mantle serveth them, when they are near driven, being wrapped about their left arm instead of a target, for it is hard to cut through with a sword, besides it is light to bear, light to throw

[1] At least not any to the Government. If an Irish servant or tenant were slain, a trifling fine was payable to his English lord.

away, and being (as they commonly are) naked, it is to them all in all."

A most useful garment apparently. He goes on to make a coarse accusation against the purity of the ordinary Irish women, which all their history contradicts.

Spenser was writing about the people as he saw them in a time of the utmost poverty and distress, at the end of a great rebellion which had been savagely crushed by fire and sword. Very probably they were then half naked as well as half starved. St. Leger, we may remember, described them as clad in shirts and small coats in his time, and as fighting in the shirt only. This was probably the long saffron-coloured garment reaching to the knees. The descriptions of these two English writers afford a depressing commentary on the results of four hundred years of English rule. The Irish natives were better clad in the days of Cuchullin or Fionn, more than a thousand years before, if there be any truth in the old Irish records and chronicles.

Another serious crime, prohibited by English law, was the wearing of "glibbes" or "glybbes", that is, long hair.

A disguise for thieves, thinks Spenser: "He either cutteth off his glibbe quite, by which he becometh nothing like himself, or pulleth it so low down over his eyes that it is very hard to discover his thievish countenance."

Campion says: "Proud they are of long crisped glibbes . . . to crop the front thereof they take it for a noticeable piece of villainy."

Wearing hair on the upper lip and shaving the chin was another grave transgression. Though why an Irishman of this time should not wear a moustache if he wanted to, passeth understanding. Nor is it clear why the Irish women should not wear long rolls.[1]

Even Spenser thought one law, prohibiting the use of gilt bridles, senseless. Quilted jackets such as were worn under coats of mail were also an offence to the legal eye in peace time.

The list of grievances would seem to be some ludicrous travesty, if we had not Spenser's high authority for it. Of course he looked upon the Irish as being, in the main, a race of thieves, liars, and quarrelsome persons. That was the official English view at the time. Probably it was founded on some facts. The Irish were born fighters, sudden and quick in quarrel, and ready to resist oppression and robbery (legalised or otherwise) at all times. There is not the slightest doubt that they raided and plundered their enemies when they could. They regarded the English settlers as intruders who came to rob them of their lands. Spenser himself had different grants, and at length came to own for a while 4000 acres of the confiscated Desmond estates, on which he was bound to permit no Irish to settle. Very likely the natives in his district plundered when they could, regarding themselves as the real owners of the soil.

[1] Married women usually had the head covered with a hood . . . or with a long web of linen wreathed round the head in several folds. Joyce, *Social History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 215.

As for lying it is not easy to say now how far or how little the evil practice prevailed in Ireland at the time. Most nations and peoples have produced gifted liars from time to time, and oppressed and plundered races have often been driven to cultivate the art of lying when other defences failed. But, in any case, it was an age of lying, and even in this chronicle we shall have some illustrious examples, by no means Irish. Nay, if the Irish were much addicted to the practice they could quote a most distinguished exemplar—the Queen herself.

Here is what an eminent English historian writes about her. "Nothing is more revolting in the Queen, but nothing is more characteristic than her shameless lying. It was an age of political lying, but in the profusion and recklessness of her lies, Elizabeth stood without a peer in Christendom." [1]

Beside the skilful efforts of the Queen, Mountjoy, Carew, and other noble rogues the Irish attempts must have seemed poor and weak, but Spenser was naturally too much of a courtier to notice his Queen's mendacious habits.

His description had an object. He had an idea that he knew something of statemanship and military matters, forgetting the wise rule that bids the cobbler stick to his last. He had evolved plans for remedying all Irish ills, which he set forth at length in his book. He proposed to subdue the natives utterly, and then to transplant

[1] J. R. Green, M.A., *A Short History of the English People*, vol. ii. pp. 738-739.

them from one district to another, keeping the whole race in strict subjection to English rule and law, and setting up garrisons, of which he gives a detailed list, in various places, for this purpose. The following extract is worth a glance. "Moreover on this side of Arlo" (Aherlow) "near the Muskery Quirke, which is the country of the Burkes, about Kill Patricke, I would have two hundred more to be garrisoned, which should scour both the white Knight's country[1] and Arlo, and Muskry Quirk, by which places all the passages of thieves do lie, which convey their stealth" (plunder) "from all Munster downwards towards Tipperary, and the English Pale, also up into Munster whereof they use to make a common trade."

Doubtless some of Spenser's Kilcolman cattle went by this road. It is not easy to find much sympathy for him.

In his desire to prove that the Irish could be easily subdued, notwithstanding the resources of their fertile country, he wrote the well-known description of the devastation of Munster and the sufferings of its people entailed by the merciless methods of suppression employed to quell the revolt of the Earl of Desmond. He draws a very terrible picture of these things, to which it will be necessary to refer again. Not the least terrible thing about it is that it was not written as a protest against these horrors, or in any spirit of repentance, but to show to what desperate straits the Irish had been reduced by the military measures, and to

[1] *i.e.* Mitchelstown and Ballylanders districts.

argue that the same thing could be done again if necessary.

He suggests even that by harassing the Irish in winter and driving them hurriedly from one refuge to another the cows of their herds might be forced to calve prematurely, and their owners be thus deprived of their food-supply in the following summer. For the " white meats " upon which he says they lived were presumably milk-products mainly.

Such a suggestion from this really gentle-minded poet throws a vivid light upon the methods of thought that prevailed amongst the courtiers and adventurers then flocking to Ireland in pursuit of fortune.

So much for Spenser. We can thank him for the picture of these native Irish moving from one of their dairy centres or " boolies " to another, their gentry clad in jackets of gilded leather, their common people covered with the serviceable mantle, their troops of mailed gallowglasses and frieze-clad kern wandering through the woods—mavhap of Aherlow—or peering out from beneath their thick masses of hair, whenever the English officials or great ecclesiastics or traders passed by their borders; wearing sinful moustaches, no doubt, and as far as the kern were concerned, armed with their light vicious bows and arrows, and spears with a loop attachment.

Thus they lived and held their " parliaments on the hills " under their own laws, and listened to their harpers and story-tellers, cheered now and again by a bowl of usquebaugh or perhaps by a

stray cask of Gascon wine. Sometimes the great Earl of Desmond may have passed by, on his way from one of his castles to another, or even have summoned them to aid him in one of his raids on his foes.

Somewhere very far off there was an English monarch and English law. If one visited a town it was necessary to submit to the half-understood English laws and customs. Outside of the towns these were very little honoured.

So these people lived before the Desmond rebellion. They were caught in that wild storm, and when it had passed by, their fair land was strewn with wreck and ruin.

A GLANCE AT SHANE THE PROUD

In the earlier part of 1561 Shane O'Neill's affairs in Ulster occupied a good deal of the attention of the English government.

They wanted him to come to England, but he found various pretexts for evading the invitation. He had no money. His apparel could not be ready before the end of May. But at length his true reasons came out. He alleged bluntly that some people who had gone to meet the Lord Lieutenant in past times had been beheaded, notwithstanding the protection afforded by safe-conducts.

The Queen was furious. She denied Shane's charge with indignation, and wrote to the "Nobility and Council of Ireland" ordering them

to aid Sussex, the Lord Deputy, in the "suppression" of Shane and his accomplices.

On June 8 the "presumptuous, arrogant, rebellious, and traitorous" deeds of the great Ulster chief were set forth in a proclamation, which also specifically denounced him as a rebel and traitor. Whereupon a general hosting or muster of troops was ordered for July 1 on the borders of Shane's county of Tyrone.

Shane seems to have been rather astonished at the anger which he had aroused. He wrote—"too proudly", Sussex thinks—demanding the withdrawal of the English soldiers who had been placed in garrison in Armagh; the church there having been fortified for the purpose.

Otherwise Shane was entirely unmoved by the Queen's anger at his charges. He simply replied calmly, listing the names of the lords and gentlemen who had been slain or tortured in his time.

He wrote in Latin. Here is his list. "Dominus McMurcha, Dominus O'Briain et frater ejus, Datheus O'Briain, Dominus O'Docartaid, Donatus Concubair, Ronaldus Sawis, Conall O'Morra, and many others of the O'Mores, Ros McCuyn Iconcubair, and many other gentlemen."

This is a remarkable bag of Irish chiefs and gentlemen of the McMurroughs, O'Briens, O'Connors, O'Mores, and the like, if Shane's allegation be true.

And as far as our authority [1] goes there is no further attempt to contradict it. Shane took the firm stand that he would only deal with the Queen

[1] *C.S.P.*

in person. He would have nothing to do with safe-conducts from her Deputies or Lieutenants. From this position he refused to stir. He was willing to go to England when she gave her personal guarantee for his safety, not otherwise. And her soldiers must be removed from Armagh.

Sussex was very angry, and gathered his forces together. He summoned the five earls who were then in Ireland to his aid.[1] He then entered Shane's country.

There he captured five hundred cows. An unsuccessful parley was followed by a skirmish of which the English got much the worse. Fifty of their best footmen were slain and fifty wounded. Sussex bewailed his absence from the fight. He had remained with the Earl of Ormond, who was sick.

Shane sent in letters to Sussex at this stage by a messenger named Neal Gray, in which he tried earnestly to make peace on the basis of the Queen's own guarantee for his safety. He also desired to marry Sussex's sister.

Sussex, however, was very anxious to destroy Shane. He wrote to England:[2] "If Shane be overthrown all is settled. If Shane settle all is overthrown." He followed this up (August 24) by a letter to the Queen regarding a project of his to bully or cajole Neal Gray into assassinating Shane. Allusion has already been made to this letter. "If he" (Gray) "will not do that he may

[1] *A.F.M.* They were Kildare, Ormond, Desmond, Thomond, and Clanricard.

[2] *C.S.P.*, August 19.

in our service, there will be done to him what others may."

Sussex continued to raid Shane's country, and reported on September 21 that the latter had lost 5000 cows and fled from wood to wood.

On October 3, however, he had to report that Shane had burst into the English pale and burned four villages there, capturing Sir James Garland.

Meantime the government in London were getting tired of this flickering border warfare and listened to suggestions from the Earl of Kildare as to making peace with Shane. The great Anglo-Irish magnates had not their hearts in the plan to exterminate him. At any rate, Kildare was commissioned to make peace, and did so to the great annoyance of Sussex and the Council at Dublin. Shane went to London in the following January and made his submission in the presence of a very distinguished company brought together for the purpose.

The fact that the forces of Desmond and Ormond were assembled under the same banner on this occasion may excuse this divergence to obtain a glimpse of the great O'Neill in his hour of pride.

PROGRESS OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN DESMOND AND ORMOND

On the termination of the march against Shane and the return of their troops bickering again sprang up between the two Earls. They were ordered to disperse their forces and, according to

the Lord Lieutenant,[1] obeyed and waited to have their cause decided by due authority.

A few days afterwards (November 3) the Lord Lieutenant and Council were constrained to report that contentions had arisen again between the two, and that prompt steps to bring them to order ought to be taken in England.

Desmond had been ordered[2] to disperse his forces and remain at peace in his own territory, to give hostages and be ready to repair to Dublin. He replied from Lough Gur charging that Ormond had lain in wait to surprise him on his return from the Queen's service, and had killed one of the men of the constable of Carlow, and disregarded the commands of the latter, given in the Queen's name.

Sussex went to England in January 1562, and on his departure the Earl of Desmond, no longer feeling himself restrained by the Deputy's presence and watchfulness, burned a good town and much corn, according to a complaint made by Ormond.

This was probably Kilfeakle. That unhappy town lay just on the borders of the territories of both. It became a battle-ground constantly, so that it was wiped out completely in the long run.

Gerald quarrelled at the same time with many of the Anglo-Irish lords of Munster. His exacting claims of overlordship were disputed by the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw, by the Barrys and Roches, and by another Geraldine, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of the Decies or western part of County Waterford. The last named appealed to the English government

[1] *C.S.P.*, October 23, 1561.

[2] *C.S.P.*, November 3, 1561. Enclosure No. 1.

to define his rights—a thing they were always only too anxious to do since it kept those great lords apart.

Desmond had also quarrelled at this time with his fierce old uncle, Black Maurice of the Burnings. Thomas, the elder son of the latter, professed his willingness to go to England to explain the Earl's "misuse of his father" if he were able. Probably he was in bad health, as he died in the following year.

This quarrel probably had to do with some interference with Maurice's lands in Kerrycurrihey. At any rate, we find English settlers planted there some years after, on a lease from Desmond.

Maurice's gallant second son must have returned by this from his fighting with the Turks.

In England, as Shane O'Neill's business seemed well on the way to settlement, the disputes between Ormond and Desmond again attracted attention. The Queen summoned both to England, drawing a certain distinction.

Ormond was not to come unless Desmond came. It is clear that she felt that she could rely upon the former, but not at all upon the latter.

And indeed Desmond did not answer the summons with loyal promptitude. He took a month to reply to the letter, and, meantime, a complaint was lodged that some of his followers had captured a servant of the Earl of Ormond with £500 near Limerick.

At length Lord Justice Fitzwylliams, who was the principal governor in the absence of Sussex, met both Desmond and Ormond in Waterford by

arrangement. Desmond still took matters easily. Ormond was willing to go to England at once. Desmond promised to go after Easter. He was evidently distrustful of the Court, not without reason, as events proved.

Meantime he refused to give up two mariners named Whitehead and Johnson, who were accused of piracy.

It is probable that these great lords palatine maintained or protected coasting-vessels and French and Spanish trading-ships at the different seaports in Desmond, and that the captains and crews were not above acting on their own account and seizing rival trading-ships with their cargoes on occasion. Sailors had to be fighting men in those strenuous days.

Fitzwylliams seized the two seafarers and also arrested another follower of Desmond, Pat Meagh of Kinsale, who was accused of being a maintainer of pirates, and sent him to England for trial. There does not seem to be any reason which would prevent the government from imprisoning or hanging him in Ireland, so that it is likely that he was taken to England with a view to extracting evidence from him with reference to the Desmond business.

However, Desmond went to England at length, with some uneasiness seemingly, for it must have been at his instance that the municipal bodies in Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal petitioned the Queen in his favour. The Youghal people stated that he had "routed out" a den of thieves, who maintained a castle four miles up the river (Blackwater).

His wife, Joan, also wrote to the Queen and to Cecil, ostensibly asking for a grant of the Grey Friars property near Cork for one Andrew Skiddy, and also for a licence for wheat and malt for the support of her house.

It is fairly probable, however, that she was endeavouring to bring herself back to the recollection of the two, and to win some favour for her husband. He was arrested to all intents and purposes on his arrival in England. "Sequestered" was the term used to define his position. He was probably treated well enough except that he was deprived of his liberty, for he was kept in the house of the Lord Treasurer of England according to a letter written by the Queen herself to reassure Joan. He was however accused of making war upon her Majesty's subjects, of refusing to come before the Lord Lieutenant and Council, of declining to obey orders, and of maintaining open rebels and proclaimed traitors.

It is more than probable that Desmond was guilty of every one of these charges. Indeed he and his followers would deem most of them meritorious acts when viewed through an Irish atmosphere. Under London skies, however, the aspect was different.

In June he submitted formally: acknowledged the Queen and promised to assist the Bishop (probably Bishop Lacy of Limerick) in the furtherance of religion. He also promised to be answerable to the laws and not aid pirates, outlaws, rebels, or traitors, and not to make war on the Queen's subjects. In addition he undertook to suffer the

Lords Fitzmaurice of Kerry, Great Barry, Lord Roche, Young Barry, Red Barry, Courcy, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, etc. etc., to remain upon the Queen's peace. He also promised to repair to Parliaments. The above-named lords were the chief Anglo-Irish nobles of Munster.[1]

But there were Irish chieftains, also, whom he was to undertake not to harass. These were the heads of the various branches of the McCarthys and O'Sullivans, etc. The Earl's wings were not to be clipped too barely, however. He was to have the leading of his own kin and holders of land in Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Desmond.

In July the Queen made an order confirming to the Earl of Ormond the "right, title, and inheritance of the royalties, knights' fees, and other liberties and things, as well in the manors of Clonmel, Kilfekille, and Kilshielane, as also in other places in County Tipperary, according to the patents of Edward III. and Philip and Mary".

In September Gerald, though pardoned, was still in England and under restraint, for he asked permission to go to Ireland and complained that he had no money. He also asked for a passport for "Sir Dorbey, the steward", Andrew Skiddy,

[1] There were two Sir Maurice Fitzgeralds. One was Maurice of the Burnings, the other being Sir Maurice of the Decies in County Waterford, a Geraldine by descent but one who was very unwilling to acknowledge the far-reaching claims of the head of his house, and who was, indeed, a friend and ally of the Earl of Ormond. It is probably the former who is alluded to here, as he is described later as "Sir Maurice of Desmond".

and thirty-seven others, who were his servants, to go back to Ireland. Apparently he was unable to maintain them in England.

Towards the end of this year (1562) Shane O'Neill grew troublesome again in the north, attacking Maguires and the like with much killing and plundering. He tried to keep on good terms with the Queen, however, even sending a present of two horses, two hawks, and two greyhounds to her favourite, Lord Robert Dudley of Leicester, and asking for his good offices with her. He also sent Cecil a present of a horse in charge of one John Smyth, the Queen's footman, with a similar request.[1]

The Irish government repaid Shane's well-justified distrust of them with enmity, and did not permit his presents to reach Lord Robert Dudley, and the relations with that hot-tempered chieftain grew more and more strained. Besides down in Desmond there were ominous mutterings against the continued detention of the Earl, and the Countess Joan and his brother John seem to have taken the field against his local enemies and

[1] Smyth was subsequently engaged in a plot at which the Queen expressed her horror when he was detected and arrested. He tried to poison Shane O'Neill's wine. When put upon his trial for this offence it was found that there was no law to punish him otherwise than by imprisonment "which O'Neill will little regard". Therefore, the writer concluded, "the matter being wisely pacified it were well done so to leave it". (*C.S.P.*, Sir Thomas Cusack to Cecil, March 22, 1564.) And so Smyth appears to have escaped punishment of any kind. At any rate, no more is recorded of the matter.

opponents. All this tended to make his lot easier. If Shane revolted the Desmond might be needed again to help to crush him.

In any case, the Earl's affairs now began to wear a better aspect. In November Ormond was refused a grant of Desmond's rich lands in Onaght, for which he had petitioned. He got the abbey of Holycross instead.

At length, in February 1563, what is termed in its own words a "treaty between the Earl of Desmond and Her Majesty" was signed.[1]

The Earl was to go to Dublin and there remain until he obtained permission to depart. He was to send for his wife and other prominent residents in his own country to become his sureties for the performance of the conditions.

His controversy with Ormond, whereby "the countries under their rule have been disordered, wasted, and spoiled", was to be referred to the Queen and the English Council for decision. The prize wines were to be kept from both the Earls until the following midsummer, and in the meantime their titles should be tried by law. The controversy "for the possession of Kilfekyle" was to be heard by Commissioners, and if the Earl of Ormond had entered by force into the house, the Earl of Desmond should be restored to the possession.[2]

The royalties and liberties of Tipperary were to

[1] *Patent and Close Rolls*, Morrin, vol. i. p. 486.

[2] This "house" was most probably the stone building at Kilfeakle known as the Castle, of which only part of the lowest story now remains.

be given to the Earl of Ormond, the two Chief Justices having decided this matter in his favour. (These probably include the claims to Clonmel and Kilsheelan, which are not otherwise mentioned in this document.) The Earl of Desmond was to have Commissioners in his country to hold criminal sessions. Arrangements were to be made for levying subsidies for the Queen and calling out forces for her purposes when required. Brehon laws were to be abolished under penalties. Rhymers, bards, and players of cards and dice were not to be permitted to travel through Desmond. Desmond was to abstain from aiding Donal O'Brien against the Earl of Thomond.[1]

The delicate question of religion had been raised. Desmond had evidently been asked to promote the new religion in Munster. He evaded the request by stating that he had no learning and was ignorant as to what was to be done in such matters. However, he professed his readiness to maintain whatever the Commissioners would suggest.

This document was signed ("Gerot Desmonde") on February 22, 1563, yet in May Gerald is found in conference with Sir Henry Sidney at the house of the latter in London, when six articles seem to have been agreed upon with reference to the prize wines. Sidney was Lord President of Wales, and evidently acted for the Queen on this occasion. There was discussion

[1] Donal was Tanist or chosen heir to the Earl according to Brehon law. According to English law the Earl had other heirs by blood. Hence the quarrel.

again upon " Kilfylane " (Kilsheelan) " Kilfiecle " and Clonmel. Desmond also made objection to Commissioners going into his country. This record is signed and sealed by him also. Of course, if no Commissioners acted they could not give him directions on religious propaganda.

Shane O'Neill was getting more and more troublesome, and the Lord Lieutenant, Sussex, set about ordering a general hosting or assemblage of military forces. He states[1] that the Earls of Ormond, Desmond, Clanricard, and Thomond had already been appointed to be there. This is curious in view of the fact that Gerald was still detained in England. In July he was still there and in want of money, as he tried to obtain an advance of £600 from the Treasury. Probably Sussex was merely using his name. As the political barometer rose or fell in Ulster his prospects grew darker or brighter. When Shane O'Neill was on the verge of rebellion matters were so arranged that Desmond could be released immediately if necessary. When Shane grew pacific Desmond's business dragged along slowly.

His troubles were added to by the whisperings of mischief-makers, who insinuated that his Countess had used her influence at Court to advance the cause of her son, Ormond, and to procure her husband's continued detention. She wrote to Cecil from Youghal telling him that she had been slandered to her husband as being the chief cause of his detention in England, and begging the powerful secretary and the rest of the

[1] *C.S.P.*, May 20, 1563.

Council to make her innocence clear to the Earl. She said that she had not taken part with her son, the Earl of Ormond, against her husband, but wished them both to be perfect friends, and then she asked that her husband might be sent home in favour.

Shane O'Neill was growing querulous again. He complained that his gifts to Lord Dudley and others had been held back by the Lord Lieutenant, Sussex. Also that there had been plots against his life. He wished to marry some noble English lady, Sussex's sister, the Lady Frances, for choice.

It was on this occasion (August 1563) that the Queen wrote to Sussex desiring him to arrange a formal submission on Shane's part, even if it involved some burthen to himself, rather than see her compelled to pardon without some show of public submission.

A great deal of weight appears to have been attached by the government to formal public submissions in those days.

At last arrangements were made for Desmond's release towards the end of the year. On hearing of this Ormond complained that he had not received the satisfaction adjudged to be his right in respect of the injuries done him. He also complained that John of Desmond's men never ceased "burning, preying, and killing" the Ormond tenantry.

This was doubtless on the Tipperary borders, in Kilfeakle district, where the lands of the two Earls adjoined. Ormond also added that James Fitzmaurice of Desmond, James Fitzgerald Fitz John, also Tibbot Fitzwilliam Burke, with M'Brian

O'Goonagh's son and Mahon Oge M'Sheehy, captain of John of Desmond's gallowglasses had committed great spoils, Ormond says that his brother John and William Burke were wounded, and "not likely to live".[1]

It is more than probable that James Fitzmaurice had been putting in practice some of the knowledge of soldiering that he had gained on battlefields abroad.

Desmond consented to levy subsidies for the royal needs in order to obtain his liberation. The sum of 4d. per cow was agreed upon, but it is doubtful if it was ever recovered in hard cash. Very probably it formed the foundation of the claims of large indebtedness subsequently alleged against the Earl.

He suggested that the Irish chieftains would not be too prompt to yield compliance with some of the conditions. They probably did not want their Brehon laws abolished and their harpers and storytellers proscribed: neither did they want their lands held by the people in common, to be vested in the chieftain so as to be confiscated on any slight excuse.

The Earl innocently asked to be furnished with ordnance and skilled cannoneers to batter down the strong forts and castles of these native chiefs. But the English authorities were altogether too wideawake to grant this request. They knew that

[1] O'Daly tells us that John "Geraldine" the brother of Earl Gerald killed with his own hand this John of Ormond in single combat. "John Geraldine" he adds, "did this feat even while yet a boy."

Gerald's guns, if he got them, were as likely to be turned against their supporters as against their opponents.

He appears to have been released early in 1564, after nearly two years' detention.

He remained in quietness for a little time, and in June the Queen's representative, Sir Thomas Cusack, was arranging for the trial of the matters outstanding between the two Earls.

The return of Gerald seems to have encouraged the Tanist, Donal or Donald O'Brien, to attack the Earl of Thomond again, and Desmond lent aid to the attackers. In August Ormond was in pursuit of revolting O'Mores and O'Connors, but found time to report Desmond's action to the Council. Thereupon the Irish government wrote ordering Desmond to recall his men who had been sent to aid Donald. The order does not seem to have been obeyed at once, but in September the Earl met Cusack in Limerick and agreed with him that Manus Oge M'Sheehy, captain of gallowglasses, with his 600 men should be called home from aiding the "traitors" against the Earl of Thomond.

In November Sir T. Wrothe wrote to Cecil informing him that Desmond had attempted to take the castle of Kilfeakle and had burned two houses. Ormond at this time also complained that his people were "daily invaded" by the Earl of Desmond, his brother and his retinue. He said that these invasions interfered with his purpose just as he was about to abolish exactions of Coin and Livery.

THE CASTLE OR "HOUSE" OF KILFEAKLE.

Owned alternately by the Earls of Desmond and of Ormond, and the fortress of one of the territories which were a main subject of their quarrel.

Desmond, finding himself free and at the head of armed forces, no doubt grew impatient at the law's delay in giving him Kilfeakle and deciding his other claims. And his lieutenants were all soldiers, anxious to try the claims of their house by the gage of battle.

Their lives were spent and wasted in the trial.

THE EARLS MEET IN OPEN CONFLICT

In the old castle at Kilfeakle the southern wall has fallen away from the second story, exposing an arched passage with a doorway of cut stone. It is a curious little link with the memory of Joan, who must often have passed through this doorway. For as Countess of Desmond and of Ormond she was the one person whose claim there was unchallenged by seneschals either of Desmond or of Ormond. She probably prevented the quarrel about the place breaking into open war during her lifetime, but Kilfeakle will from this date forward welcome her no more. She died in January 1565, presumably worn out by the endless contentions between her husband and her son, who were both dear to her. And the requiem chants of the monks of the great Desmond Abbey at Askeaton must have mingled with the wild keening of the Earl's Irish followers, despite of the Reformation or of any English prohibitions, when they laid her to rest there.

Desmond appears to have been greatly moved by her death. He sent a message to Ormond "not only offering, but also heartily requiring him,

for the goodwill and duty which he owed to his said mother, that he would continue his friendship and amity towards Gerald and for such quarrels as lay between them would be content to abide the order and award of indifferent men to be chosen by their own assent ".

Ormond answered rather coldly that a commission was about to sit to investigate these things at Waterford, and that he would abide by its decision.

One wonders what the subsequent history of Ireland would have been if he had accepted this friendly overture from Gerald. It would certainly have been far different from what it was. Even English history might have been changed.

But the shadow of suspicion still hung about the mysterious death of his father, and his brother had been slain not long before, giving new matter enough for meditation to this Irish Hamlet. He says himself that he distrusted Gerald's overtures, as the latter had never abided by any previous award.

It must be remembered, however, that some of the awards were in favour of Gerald, and that those against him were rather agreements compulsorily wrung from him by imprisonment, or Court orders obtained by influence.

Desmond complained that immediately after this Ormond not only " stayed " all his goods in the Grenoghe, Clonmel, and elsewhere, but even detained the rents out of Joan's third part of the Ormond property, which had accrued during her lifetime.

Ormond defended himself against this charge

by saying that the goods referred to belonged to the estate of his father and that he and his mother were joint executors, the right to deal with them descending to him as surviving executor. He denied keeping the rents, though he claimed that he might well have done so, since Desmond owed him a thousand pounds.

He accused Desmond of burning houses at Kilfeakle, and said, indeed, that the latter would have burnt the whole town if it had not been rescued by the inhabitants and the garrison of the castle there.[1]

A new quarrel now arose. That eighth Earl of Desmond, who had been executed at Drogheda, had a brother to whom the Decies had been allotted as his territory.

The Decies lies in County Waterford, east of the river Blackwater. The Geraldines had obtained possession of it by intermarriage with the Fitz-Anthonys, the original grantees. Thomas Maol, the twelfth Earl, had married a cousin of his own, a daughter of the house of Decies (the old Countess), and, some thirty years before the period with which we are dealing, had granted to that house the ownership of the Decies as fully as the Earls of Desmond had possessed it themselves.

[1] This was evidently the attack about which Sir T. Wrothe had written in November 1564. One can imagine the startled garrison and townsmen, mayhap, roused from their sleep by the glare of the fires and the wild Desmond war-cries and hastening to save their goods and houses on the dark November night. Very likely grief for the business hastened Joan's death.

In spite of this grant Earl Gerald, as head of his race, claimed rights of overlordship and probably of exacting Coin and Livery over the Decies.

According to his own account he now moved to the borders of County Waterford with his usual guard to be ready to meet the Commission which was about to begin its work in Waterford. He crossed the Blackwater into the Decies, and, being there, attempted to compel Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, then chieftain of the territory, to pay him homage and acknowledge his overlordship. He had with him, according to his own account, 56 horsemen, 60 gallowglasses of whom 31 wore harness or defensive armour, and 60 kern besides horseboys and other stragglers.

Ormond had always supported Sir Maurice, to whom he was related by marriage, in his resistance to Gerald's claims. On hearing of the approach of the Geraldines he summoned his brothers and assembled a force at Knocklofty near Clonmel. Soon a messenger came to him in hot haste to inform him that the Geraldines were seizing the cattle in the Decies country, and asking him to take those unseized away to a place of safety. Thereupon he marched without delay for Dromana on the Blackwater, where Sir Maurice resided. He had, according to his version of the affair, 100 horsemen and 300 gallowglasses and kern, besides a number of stragglers.

Gerald, on hearing of his approach with superior numbers, might have retreated upon Youghal, but preferred to attempt to join other forces which had been assembled by John of Desmond, and which

were hastening towards Lismore on their way to come to the assistance of his brother the Earl.

As Gerald was marching towards the north in the direction of Affane, on the Blackwater, Ormond was proceeding south on his way to Dromana, and their paths crossed near Affane. It was on the evening of February 1 (1565) towards sunset that the rival forces caught sight of one another. Gerald's kern or footmen were well in front. He remained behind himself, with his horsemen, to prevent pillage as he explained.

And all at once they saw Ormond's troops emerging from the wooded hills to the north.

Ormond appears to have permitted Gerald's footmen to pass his front in peace. Gerald, however, says that Ormond "made toward" his kern as if to attack them. He ordered his horsemen to ride forward to their aid.

Both these Earls were in the prime of life and proud and hot-blooded, though Ormond always kept his head. Stepfather and stepson at last faced each other in warlike array, eager to avenge a hundred quarrels. Both had some gunmen carrying "hagbuts" or arquebusses, effective at short range. Gerald said that as he was hastening to the rescue of his footmen Ormond suspended his attack upon the latter and charged upon the 56 horsemen of the Desmonds. Ormond states that the Desmond "harquebusiers" fired upon him at first, and that their footmen marched back across his path and joined their horsemen, which he permitted, though he was brought to a halt by this movement his path being blocked. He states that

the united Desmond forces then charged upon him. The battle did not last long. Desmond was completely overthrown. He himself was wounded in the leg by a shot from an arquebus (fired by one of Ormond's brothers, it is said. He walked lame for ever afterwards). Many of his followers were slaughtered or drowned as they tried to escape by swimming over the Blackwater. Gerald was taken prisoner and borne away on the shoulders of the triumphant followers of Ormond. "Where is the great Earl of Desmond now?" they asked tauntingly. "Where should he be but upon the necks of the Ormonds?" was the fiery captive's reply.

This encounter roused the anger of Elizabeth. She might favour one or other of those great Earls, but she was determined that they should not levy independent warfare within the realms under her rule, even if the soldiers were nearly all Irish. Neither had very much business in the Decies, and certainly neither had the right to invade that country with banners flying, as a sovereign prince might do. Desmond, perhaps, had some shadow of a claim for enforcing his right of lordship over all the southern Geraldines. Ormond had no business there from the point of view of the Court. Both received sharp letters from the Queen demanding detailed accounts of the whole affair. Ormond cleverly mingled accusations of treason against Desmond in his reply. Some of the O'Connors of Offaly, who were in rebellion since the confiscation of their lands in the time of Philip and Mary, had sought shelter with Desmond, who was related to them. He sent them for a day or

two at a time to one or another of his followers apparently under the Coin and Livery custom. Some of them accompanied him on his raid, and were mostly either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Ormond took advantage of this circumstance to charge his rival with sheltering proclaimed traitors. He took his prisoner away to "the" Clonmel. There he kept him in strict seclusion, but appears to have treated him well otherwise. For Ormond, though cold and calculating, had many noble qualities. Gerald's wounds must have been well attended to for they soon healed.

The whole business was referred to the Commission which was now ready to begin its sittings at Waterford. Ormond struggled hard to obtain permission to bring his prisoner before the Queen herself, but was ordered ultimately to conduct him to Waterford. He made the best of it, however, by marching Gerald in triumph through the city "with sounding of trumpett and gunne shott" as Gerald complained, and only delivered him up after two or three days, in response to the repeated orders of the Chief Justice.

A certain wrangle now arose, the history of which throws a curious light on the methods of administering justice at the time.

The Commission was headed by Chief Justice Arnold, who seems to have favoured Desmond, being influenced, as it was alleged, by the Earl of Kildare. Another member of the Commission was Sir George Stanley, marshal of the army in Ireland, who had previously presided over another

Commission which had met at Clonmel some years before and reported in favour of Desmond's claims.

Now his opinions appear to have undergone a complete change, for he was the only advocate of Ormond's case on the new Commission.

When its proceedings were ended he wrote a curious letter to Cecil early in April. He accused Arnold of being swayed by the Earl of Kildare to favour Desmond. Another member of the Commission had married Kildare's niece, he said. Still another was very friendly with the Lord Chief Justice. Indeed according to Stanley's account he was the only honest man in the bunch. And so we read:

" For what affection and found delays had been used, such working and practising to hide and shadow the truth, it would make any dutiful heart to be afraid to think of it, for as God shall Judge me I would not willingly be in the like Journey again, and to be matched with such a company, as I was, and to receive such rebukes and checks for the uttering of my conscience to the furtherance of her Majesty's service, as I then did, and with patience bear the same, not if I might have five hundred pounds for my labour."

And again, " There was such devices by indirect means and dishonest dealings as it would grieve any honest heart to think on it ".

There is plenty more in the letter [1] of a similar kind.

[1] Stanley to Cecil, April 3, 1565. *Journal Kilkenny Arch. Society*, 1869, pp. 403-407.

"Rogues all, my masters," was Stanley's description of his companions, in effect. Who shall quarrel with it except, perhaps, for the omission of his own name from the category? He was probably as much a partisan of Ormond as the others were of Desmond.

These governors of Ireland at the time were a curious breed. Cecil had written, just before the battle at Affane, to Arnold as to his ideas of government, and the latter replied protesting his impartiality in peculiar terms. He wrote that he acted with the wild Irish as with bears and bandogs. So that he saw them "fight earnestly and tug each other well" he cared not who had the worse.[1]

As an illustration this extract is interesting. It displays the policy of the chief governor of Ireland, in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, and his curious notions of impartiality as a judge. Incidentally it throws a light upon the mentality of the Englishmen who were sent over to govern that unhappy country.

Cecil's reply is equally curious.

"The 26th paragraph of your letter sheweth you to be of that opinion that many wise men are, from the which I do not dissent, being as an Englishman. But being as a Christian man, I cannot without some perplexity enjoy of such cruelties."

So that Arnold might count upon the assent of the Englishman, whilst the Christian disapproved, if he cared to set these wild Irish fighting and

[1] Arnold to Cecil, January 29, 1565. *C.S.P.*

tearing one another. Cecil must have been often similarly "perplexed".

The labours of the Commission ended in smoke. Its tendency to favour Desmond's claims found no approval at Court, and the Queen ordered both Earls to come to London. Desmond was to be accompanied by McCarthy More and O'Sullivan Beare. The three arrived in Liverpool on April 25, in charge of a sea-captain, almost in the capacity of prisoners, and in want of money.

Endless inquiries and interrogatories, assertions and rejoinders now took place, and the lawyers must have had a very good time. Desmond's case was complicated by the charges made against him of aiding rebellious O'Briens, and sheltering outlawed O'Connors. He was charged, too, with responsibility for injuries inflicted on Ormond's tenantry by certain of the "rebels of the Burkes and Ryans gone out in Tipperary".

In June Ormond complained that the rebels had burned two of his towns, and "spoiled" a tenant on the abbey-land of Athassel. Desmond, on the other hand, complained that Ormond's officers had taken up all the rent of Kilsheelan.

The object of bringing over McCarthy More and O'Sullivan to England soon became apparent. It was evidently decided to weaken Desmond's power by raising up strong rivals in his territories. McCarthy More was created Earl of Clancarr with rights of service from O'Sullivan Beare, who was knighted. This made both independent of Desmond. Incidentally it also gave great offence to Shane O'Neill who had also been previously

created an Earl. He said that he "had as good a man as McCarthy". The latter did not value his title very highly either. A year or two later he laid it aside and proclaimed himself King of Munster.

In the end the Court became tired of the complicated dispute between the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, and they were bound in a recognisance of £20,000 each to "stand to such good order for their controversies as Her Majesty shall think good".

On December 29 the Queen made her order.

The Earls were to "proceed in Chancery for all lands, offices, slaughters, riots, breaches of the peace, spoils, and all manners of offences and trespasses. Lands, etc., in doubtful possession at the time of the conflict to be in possession of indifferent persons. Peace to be kept. Both Earls to pay up their debts to the Queen, etc. etc." Which left things pretty much as they were.

Sidney had been sent over to Ireland as Lord Deputy. He was directed to look into the business of the quarrel between the two Earls and with the Council and others of skill to devise means for "some good conclusion".

THE CLOUDS GATHER

Desmond returned to Ireland under the impression that the situation had not changed very much. True, he had been ousted from the possession of Kilfeakle and he was not permitted to depart from Dublin until he had paid certain

amounts claimed by the Queen, but, in other respects, matters seemed unaltered.

Sir Henry Sidney came over as Lord Deputy, and the Queen wrote to him a "sapient but pedantic letter" in which she prescribed the part he was to take in the quarrel between Desmond and Ormond in a series of quaint punning "aphorisms, not always appropriate to the subject".[1]

It becomes evident that the Queen ranged herself definitely on Ormond's side in the quarrel, from this forward, though Desmond was blind to the signs and tokens for a long time.

One of the first acts of Sidney was to appoint Sir Warham St. Leger President of Munster. The Queen, however, objected to the appointment on the ground that St. Leger's father, Sir Anthony, had been friendly to the Desmonds in the time of Henry VIII., and she suspected that the son might show similar partiality. Indeed, Sir Warham, somewhere in these years, obtained some of the lands of Maurice Totein in Kerrycurrihy from the Earl on lease. The Queen need not have been afraid. St. Leger, like most of the young English gentlemen-adventurers of the time, was mainly concerned with his own advancement, and had cast covetous eyes on portion of the great Desmond possessions. The famous Sir Richard Grenville was associated with him in the Kerrycurrihy undertaking, and in plans for settling Englishmen on lands to be confiscated along the southern coast of Ireland.

[1] Miss Strickland's *Queen Elizabeth.*

Maurice's fiery life had come to an end, or there might have been more trouble over these projects. He had been slain in a raid on the territories of his own son-in-law, McCarthy of Muskerry.

The following records show the growth of the Queen's friendship for Ormond.

On May 18 (1566) Cecil wrote to Sidney telling him that he was to be favourable to Ormond's cause or Her Majesty would not suffer anything to be done therein.

On June 16 Cecil wrote again to tell Sidney that Her Majesty suspected him of affection to the Earl of Desmond.

St. Leger met Desmond about July 3 at Lough Gur Castle, and made known to him the tenor of the Queen's letter.

Desmond was displeased, naturally enough. St. Leger reported that he thought him likely to rebel.

On August 12 the Queen wrote that she "misliked"[1] the great disorders already begun by the sufferance of the Earl of Desmond to grow in strength. Ormond's brethren and friends were to be encouraged to resist Desmond.

On August 21 she directed Sidney to refuse the lease of the manor of "Onagh" to Desmond. A lease of the place was to be granted to Ormond instead.

On October 20 Cecil wrote that the Earl of Desmond was disliked by the Queen.

[1] A favourite word of hers often used to signify her wrath, and which her courtiers well understood.

About this time Desmond seems to have awakened to some little sense of his danger.

Shane O'Neill was in rebellion again. He wrote to the Earl's brother, John of Desmond, telling him that the English had no other view than to subdue the Irish and English Pale. The last three deputies had broken the peace. Now was the time, or never, for both to attack them.

Shane was not far wrong, but Desmond thought otherwise. He went, voluntarily, to Sidney and protested his dutifulness to the Queen. He then went with Sir Warham St. Leger and Captain Heron to prey and burn the O'Reillys' country in Cavan. He was accompanied by his brothers John and Thomas (probably not Thomas Ruadh, his half-brother; another Thomas was full brother to Gerald), also by the Lord Fitzmaurice of Kerry, the Barons of Dunboyne and "Coraghmore", the White Knight, and others. He is reported to have performed "good service" in this expedition.

The Queen and her Council had at length definitely determined on Shane O'Neill's destruction. His allies were dexterously detached; the aid of the Scottish troops in the north was secured, and the forces in Ireland were strengthened by 1000 English soldiers under the command of Colonel Randolph. Randolph went gaily to his task of "reaping Shane's harvest", as he put it.

He reaped another kind of harvest, however, being killed in his first encounter with Shane's forces at Knockfergus. One correspondent alleges that he was the only man slain on the English

side, whilst Shane lost 400 besides "such as O'Dogherty slew".

In December St. Leger was recalled definitely from Munster, as he was not likely to "be so indifferent in the case of the two Earls as was meet". Whilst Desmond was fighting the Queen's battles against the O'Reillys, Ormond was in England enjoying the full tide of Court favour and intriguing against his rival. He had appointed his brother, Sir Edward Butler, to act as his deputy in Ireland, and had obtained cannon for the latter to enable him to take certain castles in Tipperary held by the Bourkes and Ryans.[1]

So that on Desmond's return from his expedition on the Queen's service we find him complaining (January 1567) that Ormond's brothers and others had committed depredations and murders whilst he had been serving in the English Pale. Theobald Fitz-Richard of the Grenan in Onaght (Greenane, near Tipperary) had set the Lord Deputy's letters at defiance and withheld from Desmond the castle of "Downskey".[2]

It seems ominous that the Earl was unaware apparently that Onaght had been leased to Ormond. Both these places lay in that territory.

[1] This very same concession had been refused to Desmond, as we have seen.

[2] "Downskey" is Donaskeigh, which lies between Tipperary and Dundrum. There is no trace of a castle there now, but the site of one is marked on the ordnance map just under the ancient and historic "dun" that gives a name to the place, "Dun-na-sciath"—the fort of shields. A royal prince was once murdered there.

But Ormond had discovered that his battle could be fought better amid the silken fittings of a Court than in the open field. He was now triumphant all along the line.

In March 1567 the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland decided to imprison Desmond in Dublin Castle and to entrust the government of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick to his brother John. This was a step very unlikely to have been taken without directions from the Queen. Indeed, a letter from her was written before the Council's order had time to reach her (April 3), in which she directed that Desmond should be held in custody in case he came before the Lord Deputy and was found guilty of the charges against him—of sheltering outlawed O'Connors and the like. She also stated that the matters with which he was charged were very true and manifest.[1]

[1] The Queen founds her condemnation on the confession of Cahir O'Connor which throws such light upon the customs of the time, as regards coin and livery, that it is, perhaps, worth giving in full. It was a fateful document for Desmond at any rate :

"The examination of Cahir O'Connor being sworn upon the holy evangelist. He sayeth that understanding his brother Cormack to have been with the Earl of Desmond (he) came into the said Earl's country into Adaragh (Adare) thinking to have found his brother there with the rest of his company, where then the said Earl was, and then in the foresaid Adaragh he met a boy of his brother's called Wm. Maol O'Cassell, who told him that his said brother was departed that morning, and followed Lysaght McMorogh O'Connor and his company who had the said Earl's man called Teig McDonnell to conduct

The Queen having found Desmond guilty herself, and intimated the fact to the Lord Deputy, the Earl was likely to stand a poor chance in any trial by the latter.

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them by the said Earl's appointment so that the said Cahir thereof understanding further followed and travelled towards that place where the said Lysaght and his cõply (company?) were with also the said Earl's man, which place was four or five miles distant from the said Adaragh and there the said night he met with the said Lysaght and the said Earl's man and the next morning he met with his said brother Cormack, and so all they continued with the said Earl's man the space of a fortnight, resorting to every such place within a certain precinct of the said country for that time to eat and drink. The names of so many of the places where then they were so entertained, as he remembereth, he declareth as ensueth. First from that place where they met they went to a town where there is a castle called Ballyvolline where there dwelt one of the said Desmond's horsemen and there they continued two nights, and from thence they went to Mr. Crawley's castle where they continued two days and two nights and from thence by the appointment of the said Earl's man they went to a castle called Drissane and there continued one night and from thence they went to Pobble Ekese (?), and there continued one night, and from thence they went to McDonoghoe's country and there they continued two days and two nights, and from thence they went to the old prior O'Kalleghane, and there rested one night, and from thence to the young prior O'Kalleghane and there continued one night, and for that the time was expired which was assigned and appointed by the Earl to his man and to the said Lysaght to resort to the places as aforesaid, and that the said man called Teige McDonnell durst not resort with them to any other places before he had further instructions or commandments from the said Earl, and for

ARREST OF DESMOND

The Deputy, Sidney, just then went on a journey through Munster deciding certain cases and arresting and punishing many turbulent

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that the foresaid Lysaght O'Connor was the Earl's nigh kinsman they thought good to send him to another of their company called Shane O'Meonee (Meany?) being then at Connyghe, Shane McCragh's house to obtain of the said Earl further instruction and licence to spend on the country by way of coyny or other succour, so after the said Lysaght departed the foresaid Cormack and Cahir with the residue of their said company went to a castle called Carrigevrick (?), and there they remained for that night and the next morning they went to a place where they and the said Lysaght O'Connor did appoint to meet at his return from the said Earl, at which place they met the said Shane O'Meonee, but the said Lysaght stayed with the said Earl, and the said Shane then told to them that the said Earl of Desmond's pleasure was that Cormack and Cahir should go with the foresaid Teig McDonnell the said Earl's man to Donough McCarthy, and there to remain till after his return from Waterford, and said further that the said Earl of Desmond willed him to tell the said Cormack and Cahir that if at Waterford he did agree with the governor he would be a mean for them (*i.e.* an intercessor) and then willed the residue of the said company to resort unto him to attend with the said Lysaght McMorogh on the said Desmond, and so they continued with the said Earl until he went into Sir Maurice Fitzgerald's country where there at the conflict betwixt the Earls of Ormond and Desmond the said Lysaght McMorogh O'Connor was slain. Art O'Connor, brother to Cormack and Cahir, was slain; Gerot McShane Balle was slain; Shane O'Meonee was also slain. Conoghor McCormack O'Connor was hurt and escaped, with divers others slain, during which time

persons. He found much to complain of in Desmond. Several native Irish chieftains, "very great possessioners in that county (Cork), who ought to be free subjects, are so injured and

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the said Cormack and Cahir continued at Donough McCarthy's aforesaid as they were willed to do until such time as they heard of the overthrow given to the said the Earl of Desmond, and then they departed the said Donough McCarthy's house, and then also gave over the said Earl's man and from thence went to McCarthy More his country where the said Cahir departed from his brother Cormack and returned back to O'Sullivan's country, the said Cahir having occasion there to speak with some of his kinsmen and from thence the said Cahir followed his brother Cormack to O'Connor Kerry's country, where there it was told the said Cahir by the said O'Connor Kerry that his said brother Cormack was departed and gone towards John of Desmond, and two nights after the said Cahir in company with Teig McMorogh O'Brien the chiefest of the proclaimed traitors of the O'Briens went from the said O'Connor's house to John of Desmond to meet his said brother and the said Cahir came then to a house of the Earl of Desmond called Asketeneghie (Askeaton), where then the said John was, and there missed his said brother Cormack who was then as he learned gone to Thomond and soon after should have returned into the said Earl of Desmond's country, and then at the said house of Ketenеyghe the said Cahir sent one Teig Roe O'Meagher then attendant about the said John to shew him that the said Cahir's brother was gone to Thomond and that the said Cahir was willing and desirous to tarry in the said John's company until his brother's return from Thomond, which would be within a sevennight. The said John sent word by the said Teige Roe O'Meagher that the said Cahir was welcome and willed him to continue in his company and keep his name strict and privy and the said Cahir willed

exacted upon by the Earl of Desmond as in effect they were or had become his Thralls or Slaves ".

This solicitude for the mere Irish is as novel as it is refreshing in these State documents. There was not a trace of it until it became necessary to give Desmond a bad name before attacking him.

Sidney went on to recite Desmond's flagrant tyrannies: " The burning of villages and ruin of churches in his land. Yea, the view of the bones and sculls of your dead subjects, who partly by murder partly by famine have died in the fields is such that hardly any christian with dry eyes could behold."

The time soon came when Christians of the kind beheld, without any excessive weeping, a far

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the messenger to tell the said John that he named himself by a contrary name, that is to say McCoyelyne's son of the Rowde (McQuillan's son?) who was banished by the Scots, and so in the said John's company, he continued for the space of a sevennight or thereabouts, and for that the said Cormack came not the foresaid Cahir followed him into Thomond.

"CAHIR O'CONNOR."

Postscript in another hand (Burleigh's ?):

" All the foresaid O'Connors that were slain aforementioned were of the company of the examinyat and proclaimed rebels. VIII Jan. 1567."

All this was generally known before and included in Ormond's charges after the battle of Affane. He must have been getting in some diplomatic work. Even the Queen took till April to act on this deposition, which, after all, proved nothing more than that Desmond gave shelter to his rebellious relatives. Such things were commonplace in Ireland at the time. But it was enough to found an excuse upon for arresting Desmond.

wider and more terrible desolation, and when murder and famine reaped a much more grisly harvest.

Not long before Sidney's arrival in Munster some women were, he said, murdered under barbarous circumstances, " and yet did the Earl of Desmond lodge and banquet, after the fact committed, in the house of the murderer, a principal servant of his ".

As Desmond was never formally charged with, or tried for complicity in this crime, Sidney's account was probably exaggerated. Indeed his allegations are too much for even Froude to swallow. Here is the comment of the latter upon one of them:

" Some of the Irish had committed outrages too horrible to hear, says Sidney. If he told the bare truth the English had set the example of ferocity and had little right to complain."

Sidney, however, was only carrying out his instructions as best he could. Whether the evidence was hearsay or not mattered little when he had his definite orders not only for the trial but for the condemnation of the Earl if he only read them properly. He summoned the latter to Kilmallock for an interview, and, on Desmond's arrival in that town with a small guard, boldly seized the Earl and sent him a prisoner to Dublin Castle as previously arranged.

In June Shane O'Neill was slain by the Scots, who had come over to the north of Ireland where their chieftains had acquired interests by marriage. Shane had taken refuge with them.

About the same time the Queen wrote to Sidney approving of the arrest of Desmond, but also blaming him for slackness in its execution, and for appointing St. Leger as "a very partial President for Munster". She ordered that advantage should be taken of the occasion to grant the gentlemen of those parts their estates immediately from the Queen. This would lessen or destroy the power of a great overlord like Desmond. He himself was to be sent to the Tower in London.

Desmond appears to have married again before his arrest. His new wife was a daughter of the Baron of Dunboyne, who was a Butler, but one not on too friendly terms with the Earl of Ormond.

On August 20 the Queen ordered that Desmond should be indicted, and, if it might be, arraigned and condemned, but at all events he was to be indicted and brought over to England.

Cecil wrote also that she had definitely ordered the arraignment in Ireland, but that he had at length "tempered" the letter. The original letter must have been a strong one in that case, for the Queen managed to convey her intention very clearly in the revised version. There was to be no further hesitation in dealing with this pestilent Desmond.

As some effective rule was necessary in Munster apart from the occasional marching from town to town of English forces, Desmond's brother John, who had been knighted, was appointed Seneschal of Desmond. This proceeding gave great offence to Ormond and rendered him more hostile to Sidney. In this way it led ultimately to the recall

of the latter, for Ormond's star was now high in the heaven of Court favour.

Plantation schemes were being considered. The Queen had written on July 6 that the "Glynns and Route" in Ulster were to be planted by English gentlemen. "Our servant Humphrey Gilbert is instructed by certain gentlemen of the west parts of England to negociate with the Lord Deputy about the plantations." Shane being dead, and his successor, Turlough Lynagh, being submissive, the victors were to share the spoil.[1]

HOW THE NEWS OF THE EARL'S ARREST WAS RECEIVED IN DESMOND

Desmond's arrest must have come as a shock to all Munster. So powerful was he, so unquestioned his word or his rule, that it would have seemed impossible for any authority to dare to meddle with him. Though he had been captured by Ormond it was due to a surprise of a kind. But this arrest in the heart of his own country was something new in the history of a Desmond.

Anger quickly succeeded surprise. Sir John of Desmond proved a recalcitrant official. Sir W. Fitzwylliams wrote (August 22) that he had abode

[1] Gilbert (or Jylbarte), who was half-brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, had come over as lieutenant to Randolph when the latter came to suppress Shane O'Neill. On the death of his leader he distinguished himself on the final operations against Shane as an able captain, but one, as we now see, no more free from the hunger for the acquisition of confiscated properties than his fellows.

for nineteen days in Kilkenny with the members of a new commission appointed to try the Desmond-Ormond quarrel, in the absence of Desmond himself, in Ormond's principal town, but, alas! "Sir John of Desmond would not make the proclamation, nor come, nor answer." Ormond's towns had been "spoiled", as well as his "corn and stuff". Women and children of his people had been murdered.

Evidently down in Desmond they knew who was the real cause of the arrest of their Earl.

A new snare was now set. The Lords Justices were in charge of the government of Ireland, Sidney having gone to England. They wrote (November 23) that they detained the Earl in Ireland in order to apprehend his brother. Their notion was that it might be possible to induce Sir John to come to see the Earl, when he could be arrested.

Sir John fell into the trap. On December 12 Fitzwylliams was able to report that he had at last come to see his brother, and that the two of them had been sent to England.

And now surely all was plain sailing. Let the Queen but appoint Commissioners to govern Munster, including all Desmond's country, to split up and tax and divide, and confiscate perhaps, and this Desmond trouble is ended for ever. And it was done. Perhaps it would have ended as arranged but for one man, but James Fitzmaurice has first a word to say in the business.

The Commissioners went to Munster. There they got into difficulties at once. On January 14

(1568) they wrote from Cork relating that "wood-kern" under Gerot (Gerald or Garret) Bracke, one of the Earl's near kinsmen, had intercepted their letters. Nay, certain other wicked kern lay in ambush for them, but Lord Barrymore and the Dean of Cloyne met them with an escort and brought them in safety to Barry's Court. None of the chieftains would come to them unless the Countess of Desmond came.

The Countess wrote (January 11) from Kilmallock complaining of the disorder of the country. The inhabitants had been so bruised that she could not take up the duties (*i.e.* rents, etc.) for her husband's present need.

On January 13 the Commissioners wrote to her that they marvelled that she had not appointed a meeting. They asked for a definite answer. They also wrote to Hugh Lacy, the Bishop of Limerick, who had been appointed to act with them, requiring him to repair to them and to bring the Countess with him, if possible.

On January 28 accordingly the Countess and the Bishop came to meet the Commissioners at Cork. They brought some important news.

James Fitzmaurice of Desmond, son of Maurice Totein, and cousin to the Earl, had been appointed captain of Desmond by the latter. Thomas Roe, the Earl's elder brother, however, claimed the rule as his right.

Thomas Roe, or Ruadh, we may remember, was that eldest son of the fifteenth Earl, whose mother had been divorced. He had been disinherited by his father's will. He was naturally discontented

and sought this opportunity of asserting his rights. At first he was supported by the English and by Ormond, and Lord Fitzmaurice of Kerry, who all desired to weaken the Geraldines, but he was not accepted by the latter or their Irish friends and liegemen.

He achieved little success accordingly in the prosecution of his claims. These placed Elizabeth in a difficult position too. Her father, Henry VIII., had divorced his wife on much the same grounds as the Earl of Desmond had relied upon for his divorce. Therefore if the divorce did not hold and Thomas Ruadh were legitimate, Elizabeth was illegitimate and an usurper herself.

Thomas, however, persisted in a feeble assertion of his claim, and was found on the English side in all the subsequent terrible struggle.

James Fitzmaurice was that soldier son of the fierce old Maurice of Desmond, who had ventured forth to France and Poland to seek his fortune.

He must have returned on the death of his elder brother to find Englishmen on his lands at Kerrycurrihy. Still, he must have acquired the confidence of the Earl, so that he was now named leader of all the Geraldines.

Doubtless the Earl was influenced by those noble and generous qualities which James Fitzmaurice possessed in such high degree, which were so often exhibited afterwards. Henceforward this gallant Geraldine becomes the foremost figure in all the Desmond wars until the time of his death.

In London, Gerald and his brother were subjected, with various other persons, to cross-

examinations and interrogatories. The Earl, in one of his answers, alleged that he might "challenge the authority to rule all the Geraldines in Munster, and in all cases between two Geraldines he taketh it that he ought to be the Judge".

An Earl was something in those days.

On February 21 he denied the offences contained in the first 22 articles (the indictment must have been a lengthy one) but pleaded the Queen's pardon also. He admitted the capture of Kilfeakle.

Over in Ireland things began to move rapidly. The Countess of Desmond and the Bishop seem to have begun by arresting James Fitzmaurice and Thomas Ruadh, to the satisfaction of the Dublin Council. Very likely they disputed the leadership. But the Earl's warrant gave it to Fitzmaurice, and on March 23 the Lords Justices informed the Queen that he had been liberated without the knowledge of the Commissioners (for whom he was ostensibly held in custody). The rule of the Earl's territories had been confirmed to him. The country people would not permit him to appear before the Commissioners, saying that the Earl and Sir John were pledges enough.

There was small use apparently in setting snares for a wild hawk of this kind.

The Lord Justice delayed confirming Fitzmaurice's appointment until he had learnt the Queen's pleasure.

Fitzmaurice must have employed the delay in attacking Kilmallock, the chief seat of English influence in Desmond, for on March 18 the Countess and the Bishop wrote asking for approval

of his rule whilst the Earl was absent. The " prey " of Kilmallock was to be restored.[1]

REVOLT OF THE GERALDINES UNDER JAMES FITZMAURICE

Fitzmaurice was under no delusions from the first as to the designs of the English Government. The measures taken to destroy the rule of the Desmonds by leasing the lands in their lordships direct to their feudatories and liegemen, who had hitherto paid them tribute and obedience, were significant enough. And some whispers of the contemplated " plantings " and of the ambitions of young Englishmen who dreamt of fat pro-consulships must have reached his ears. Indeed he had one or two of them down in Kerrycurrihy.

He appears to have penetrated the designs of the Government, though he can hardly have been acquainted with the Queen's instructions to Sidney to have the Earl condemned.

At any rate he proceeded at once to form a very formidable confederacy. It is a striking commentary on Sidney's accusations of cruelty and murder against the Desmonds that this included nearly all the Irish as well as the Anglo-Irish leaders within the Desmond territories. Even the Earl of Thomond and the brothers of the Earl of Ormond were fighting at Fitzmaurice's side at one time, though indeed the Butlers fought for a quarrel of their own.

[1] " Preying " meant plundering and cattle-driving.

The news of these preparations had reached England, for we find (July 1568) that the extreme proceedings against the Earl and his brother seem to have been abandoned, and they were, instead of being "arraigned and condemned", permitted to sign a submission with recognisances of £20,000 to comply with its articles.

Fitzmaurice had taken action meantime. On June 15 the Lords Justices wrote to the Queen that he had taken into his own hands three or four of the Earl's castles. He had also opened communications and negotiations for common action with northern insurgents in Ulster.

On July 6 Lord Fitzmaurice (of the Fitzmaurices of Kerry, a Geraldine branch, who resisted the Earl's claims) complained from Lixnaw that James Fitzmaurice of Desmond, with all the power of the Geraldines, had entered his country, taken all the cattle, burned the houses, and was still there pulling up all the corn and killing his men. James, however, wrote denying this, and stating that he had committed no hurt on Lord Fitzmaurice beyond taking 200 beeves in pledge for rent.

The matter ended in a battle, however. James approached Lixnaw, and committed the military error of dividing his force into two parts which could not support one another promptly. Lord Fitzmaurice happened to have a ship captain, with his crew of fifty men or so, on a friendly visit at the time. He determined, in desperation, on a sally, and as the mariners of the time were often smugglers, or even pirates, and accustomed to

enjoy a scrap of any kind, his visitors cheerfully mingled in the fray.

With their assistance he attacked one section of James's forces and ultimately drove them off with much slaughter. He says that at least three hundred of them were killed in the encounter (July 29).

This was probably exaggerated. At any rate it did not dispose of Fitzmaurice.

News of the course of events in England may have eased the situation a trifle, however, for in September James wrote to the Lords Justices desiring leave to come to England for the benefit of his health, and no doubt to consult his chief. But Pierce Walsh, who had been granted the abbey of Owney, but who was constantly interfered with in the enjoyment of his rights there by O'Mulryans who were Geraldine supporters, wrote that James "McMorres" (Fitzmaurice) grew worse and worse.[1]

He said that "Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Clanwilliam" were in great disorder, and that the latter place was likely to be ruined by attacks of the Desmond adherents.

About this time, too, the Earl of Clancarr (McCarthy More) attacked Lord Roche. Indeed,

[1] Pierce Walsh came from County Carlow—Ormond country—and had been granted the abbey of Owney very probably through Ormond's influence, for the Butlers were much interested in the place. Pierce was, of course, a stout Government supporter, and therefore unpopular. His grandson forfeited the property in Cromwellian times, as he had been a leader amongst the confederate royalists.

Government supporters were just then being singled out for attack.

A list of these is available from a letter directing them to aid Lord Roche. They were the Lord Barrymore, Sir Dermot McTeigue (*i.e.* McCarthy of Muskerry), the Mayor of Cork, the Sheriff of County Cork, the sovereign of Kilmallock, and the sovereign of Kinsale. The inhabitants of the walled towns of Limerick, Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal were mostly English by origin, and these towns were usually held by English garrisons in the troubled times that followed. Unprotected towns like Tipperary and Emly must have suffered terribly in the constant raids by both sides.

With the exception of the leaders above mentioned, and one or two others, nearly all the principal men in Munster were on the Desmond side at this time. The Bourkes of Castleconnell and Clanwilliam (Limerick) and of the Tipperary Clanwilliam, and Muskry Quirke, the Mulryans (Ryans) of Abington, the O'Briens of Coonagh (Doon and Cullen country) and of Aherlow, with all the other Irish septs on the Ormond borders, except the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanagh, fought at one time or another by the side of Fitzmaurice.

Still, whilst there seemed to be a chance of the release of the Earl, no immediate action was taken. In October he applied for his freedom, and in November complained of the cold of the Tower.

The Lord Deputy wrote in October that the Earl of Clancarr and James Fitzmaurice were mischievous monsters. Sir Warham St. Leger or Sir John of Desmond might have suppressed them.

A project for sequestrating Desmond's rents for his expenses in prison, and another for appointing a president and council to rule Munster, were much discussed at the time, but without result. With an active Fitzmaurice in the field at the head of the Desmond forces, projects of the kind had no high market value.

As the Earl was still in prison, and there was no appearance of his release drawing nearer, the confederates took further action (February 1569).

Sir Warham St. Leger wrote to the Lord Deputy that the Earl of Clancarty (Clancarr), James Fitzmaurice, McDonogh (McCarthy of Duhallow), and others of the south-west had, in their Parliament, agreed to send messengers to the King of Spain. The Bishop of Ross in Carbery and "the usurped Bishop of Cashel", Maurice Reagh McGibbon, had been conveyed into Kerry by James Fitzmaurice, who intended to send them to Spain.

James was no idler, evidently. The ruin of the Desmonds had been so thoroughly planned that a project was mooted for "planting" the Earl's territories. Froude says that a number of gentlemen, chiefly from Somersetshire and Devonshire—Gilberts, Carews, Grenvilles, Courteneys—twenty-seven in all, volunteered to relieve Elizabeth of all her trouble in Ireland.

They demanded that the whole coastline from the mouth of the Shannon to Cork harbour should be included in their grant. He adds that to these people the Irish were of no more value than their

own wolves, and would have been exterminated with equal indifference.

Another bunch of adventurers who wanted rights of fisheries and certain harbours and islands on the west and south coasts of Ireland were Sir Warham St. Leger, Mr. H. Gilbert, Mr. Jacques Wingfield, Mr. Gilbert Talbot, and others. Old title-deeds had been raked up and a number of farms belonging to the Desmonds, McCarthys, and Butlers had been occupied by some of these hungry invaders. The carcass of the lion was being divided, in fact, whilst he was still alive. Fitzmaurice's penetration of these projects and correct judgment of the situation, and his determined action, scattered these plans to the winds for the time being.

They bore fruit at a later stage, however. Sir Warham St. Leger seems to have been playing a double part at this time. He had been the gaoler of the Earl in England, but was on friendly terms with him, and came over to Ireland with letters directing the Countess and Fitzmaurice to be advised by him. At the same time he was in the confidence of the Government, and even, as we have seen, engaged in projects for confiscating and planting the Desmond territories. As we have also seen, he had, in conjunction with Sir Richard Grenville, obtained somehow lands in Kerry-currihy, the patrimony of Fitzmaurice.

Subsequent events show that this was not done with Fitzmaurice's consent.

On June 3 he petitioned the Privy Council proposing to do service in Munster. He offered

land in England as security for the repayment of a loan of £10,000, and for evicting lands from rebels and traitors to the value of £1000 a year, to serve with 1500 men upon his own charges, etc.

Evidently Sir Warham liked his Irish land, but a man stood in the way whom it was not easy to bully or cajole.

On June 17 Andrew Skiddy[1] wrote: "Yesterday McCarthy More", whom he dared not name an Earl, "and James Fitzmaurice spoiled all the inhabitants of Kerrycurrihy, the farm which Sir Warham St. Leger had of the Earl of Desmond, and laid siege to the abbey of Tracton" (a few miles south of Carrigaline, County Cork).

The Mayor of Cork wrote similarly reporting an assault by 2000 rebels on Tracton and the "country in charge with Sir W. St. Leger and Mr. Greynville" (Sir R. Grenville). Lady Ursula St. Leger wrote that James Fitzmaurice with 4000 men spoiled Kerrycurrihy on Thursday; on Friday they took Tracton and killed John Enchedon and all her men; on Saturday they came to the castle of "Carrigleyn". She prayed for help.

Jasper Horsey wrote of the taking of Tracton. All within it were slain saving three or four English soldiers, since hanged by James Fitzmaurice and McCarthy More.

This was a cruel business, of course, if Horsey's story be correct. It is the only instance of the kind charged against Fitzmaurice, though the erection

[1] Formerly one of Desmond's men. He had got an appointment from the Government at Desmond's request and was now entirely devoted to them.

of a gallows was an usual part of the English preparation for a siege at the time. It seems doubtful that it is correct, however, for Lady St. Leger says nothing of it, and it fades into insignificance when compared with the record of general cruelty on the English side.

Horsey added that the Irish leaders had vowed never to depart from Cork unless the Mayor delivered up to them Lady St. Leger and Mrs. "Greynville" with the rest of the English, as well as Barry Oge, Cormac McTeige, and the rest of the prisoners. He also spoke of reports of aid for the rebels from Spain. Sir W. St. Leger's "tall ship" was threatened.[1]

On the whole Horsey's letter seems to have been a mere embodiment of flying rumours. It was altogether unlike Fitzmaurice's character to hang his defenceless prisoners, even though it was a common practice when castles were taken by assault, according to the custom of the time.

The English settlers were all in wild alarm. The mayors of the towns wrote for help. Waterford reported the outbreak. Youghal wrote that it was in daily jeopardy and begged for forty soldiers. Cork wanted powder and was clamorous with rumours that the rebels bragged that they would take Cork and Kinsale and that help was coming from Spain. They also boasted that the Butlers had joined the confederacy, which was true enough. All the country between Cork and Kin-

[1] "Tall ship" appears to have been a designation for the land which lay along the coast of Cork harbour to the west, in Kerrycurrihy.

sale was destroyed. Youghal informed the Lord Deputy that unless he came with a "main army" the whole country was likely to be overthrown.

Sir Edmond Butler, the eldest of the brothers of the Earl of Ormond, was indeed actually up in arms and threatening the town of Carlow.

And so we hear no more just now of the arrangements to condemn the Earl and confiscate his lands.

THE BUTLERS AND SIR PETER CAREW

The Butlers had entered into the contest from reasons differing *in toto* from those of the other insurgents. The Earl of Ormond had six brothers, but three of them appear to have died before the time with which we are dealing. The other three were Edmond, who had been knighted, Edward, and Pierce. High-mettled and passionate to an extreme degree, these proud young Butlers had quarrelled with many of their neighbours. They had raided and harassed the O'Carrolls of Ely in North Tipperary. They had resisted the attempts of the Lord Deputy himself to abolish the exaction of coin and livery, for they maintained their troops by levies of the kind. Edward had been the page of Sidney, who spoke of him as "that blessed babe, Edward". He and his brothers made a peculiar distinction in their fighting. They would not oppose the Queen's troops when they came in her own name, but they would when the soldiers were led by the Lord Deputy or his officers. Various attempts were made to summon them to meet

commissioners or to appear at Dublin to answer the charges against them, but they defied or evaded all such summonses.

To bring matters to a climax, Sir Peter Carew appeared in Ireland with claims to all sorts of lands in Munster and Leinster.

His Geraldine ancestors held lands in Munster and Leinster up to the time of Richard II. At that time they seem to have lost their possessions, owing to the general weakness of English power, and to their being absentees dwelling in England or Wales. At any rate they had left the country. Thereupon the powerful sept of the O'Kavanaghs had re-taken possession of the barony of Idrone in County Carlow, of which they had been the original owners.

Later on, these had sold part of Idrone to one of the Earls of Ormond, and this part had been allotted to Sir Edmond Butler and his brothers as a patrimony by their father.

When Sir Peter Carew decided to assert his claims to his ancestral estates, it soon became apparent that the task of recovering them would involve immense confusion. For the original grants included all the lands of the McCarthy More and McCarthy Reagh; of the O'Sullivans, O'Mahonys, etc.; of much of the lands of the Lords Barry and de Courcy of Kinsale, as well as huge slices of the territories of the Earl of Desmond.

From the first the claims in Munster were clearly hopeless. Any attempt to enforce them would merely strengthen the insurgents, who were already strong enough to alarm the Government

seriously and to engage all its powers in Ireland for their suppression.

In Idrone there seemed to be some prospects of a better kind for Sir Peter, however. The Butlers were nominally loyal, and the head of their house could be relied upon. But his hot-headed young brethren proved intractable. When Sir Peter Carew came to take possession of Idrone they broke into furious rebellion and united with Fitzmaurice. They always favoured the Catholic religion, even when they changed over to the Queen's side. Nay, Ormond himself died a Catholic.

Fitzmaurice now moved from Cork to Kilmallock on his way to join the Butlers.

On July 3 the sovereign of that town and his brethren wrote to the Lord Deputy to say that James Fitzmaurice, the Earl of Clancarthy (Clancarr), McDonogh (McCarthy of Duhallow), and others, having attacked them, they had been compelled to purchase their peace by a ransom of £160 Irish, and to agree to dishonourable articles.

Evidently they had no intention of adhering to these articles if they could help it, for they prayed for redemption from this "Egipiciacall bondage".

On July 8 the Mayor and Corporation of Waterford became clamant. They wrote that the good subjects of the country were forced by the rebels to become partners of their confederacy, or else to end their wretched lives by famine. The traitors were not contented only to spoil the kine and garrans (cattle and horses), but also send naked to their city the men, not sparing (a shameful thing to be reported) the honest housewives of the

country in like manner, and tormented them with more cruel pains than "either Phalaris or any of the old tyrants" could invent.

Of which classical instance, perhaps, one may fairly say that it smells a little of the lamp.

The Mayor and his brethren go on to tell us that the chieftains of this rebellion were James McMaurice, called Captain of the Geraldines, and McCarthy More, who refuses the new title of Earl, and is offended with any that call him the Earl of Clancarr. These and other rebels had forced Kinsale (Kilmallock?) to compound, and Pierce Walsh to yield the abbey of Owney whereof he was farmer. The Butlers had preyed in Kildare and Waterford. Pierce Butler, in particular, had plundered Callan. They add that there was need of munitions and victuals.

On July 10 the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick requested instructions. Castletown in Kenry had been delivered to James Fitzmaurice on July 2. On July 8 James Fitzmaurice, the Earl of Thomond, and the Earl of Clanricard's son, John, were at a "parliament" at Blackstones. Report was recited of the arrival of forty Spanish ships at the "Dinglishe". A false report, as it happened, but Dingle was far away from Limerick, and the terror-stricken burghers of the latter place were rather credulous.

On July 12 this Fitzmaurice, who appears to be a military commander who lets no grass grow under his feet, requires the Mayor and Corporation of Cork to abolish out of that city "that old heresy newly raised and invented," and certain

persons whom he names, " Barnaby Daly and all them that be Hugnettes " (Huguenots), both men and women, and Greynville's wife and children.

It seems clear the struggle now had largely to do with the attempts to propagate the Reformation in Munster, and that it was much embittered also by the efforts to plant English colonists on Irish lands.

Up in Leinster the Butlers, irritated by the Carew claims, had been heard of. On July 21 Captain Malbie informed Cecil that Sir Edmond had gathered a great company and was spoiling Idrone. He had taken Robert Mannering, an English gentleman, prisoner and " leads him up and down in a halter ".

On June 30 the Queen ordered many things in favour of Ormond, now basking in the full Court sunshine over in England.

But on the same date Sir Edmond Butler, with his brothers Pierce and Edward, burnt Stradbally, Ballyknockane, Ferny Priory, and Loughteoge. They slew all the guard of Ballyknockane.

Sir Peter Carew, however, had managed to get hold of Sir Edmond's castle of Cloghgrenan in Carlow and thence marched to Kilkenny, from which he sallied out, and surprising Sir Edmond's forces in the absence of their leader slew some score of them. Sir Edmond, who had been joined by McCarthy More and Fitzmaurice, hastened to Kilkenny. Carew left it and fell back upon Cloghgrenan, whilst the insurgent forces invested Kilkenny about the middle of July.

They are stated to have amounted to 1400

gallowglasses, 400 pikemen with shirts of mail, 400 gunners or men with firearms, and 1500 kern or light foot-soldiers, besides 800 men under the command of McCarthy More—a formidable army for the time, but rather helpless before stone walls in the absence of artillery.

The citizens of Kilkenny were in great alarm and distress, as their supplies were cut off and the surrounding country plundered for some days, and they would probably have surrendered but for the presence of Captain Collier with some English troops. Even as it was they were compelled to negotiate and give hostages. They wrote that if Captain Collier had not arrived the Lord Deputy would have had "heavy news".

McCarthy More retired from Kilkenny with his men because he was in want of supplies. He was soon followed by Fitzmaurice.

When the latter and Sir Edmond Butler were in command of the united forces they would receive no messenger or negotiator who was attired in English dress—a characteristic sign of the bitter aspect which the quarrel now assumed.

Fitzmaurice and Sir Edmond had opened negotiations for combined action with Ulster chieftains, and the principal amongst them, Turlough Lynagh O'Neill, Shane's successor, had prepared to come to the help of the insurgents. Sidney had assembled 600 men on his frontiers to try to prevent him. It was a blow to the insurrection that Turlough was wounded by his jester and disabled at this period. Sidney marched his men to Kilkenny, where he rated the trembling

sovereign and corporation for their negotiations with the insurgents. He then marched to Clonmel, and attempted to detach the gentry from the cause of the Butlers. They replied, however, that they had been left to themselves by the English Government, and had been protected by the Earl of Ormond, whose representatives alone they would now recognise. Sidney effected little by his march, unless the hanging of three friars at Moore Abbey, near Galbally, can be counted as a triumph.

On August 14 there was a fair at Enniscorthy. Sir Edmond Butler rode into the town with his forces and plundered it. The Government were unable to make any head against him in the disputed territories, and it was fortunate for them that they could rely on the Earl of Ormond.

They sent him over at length. He arrived at Rosslare on the day that his brother plundered Enniscorthy, and his appearance at once changed the position of affairs. He communicated with his brothers. Sir Edmond replied detailing his grievances against Carew, and complaining that he had unjustly been proclaimed a traitor. He offered to decide his quarrel by a duel—with Carew presumably—and professed loyalty to the Queen, but he had determined never to forgive Sidney.

The Butlers' raids ceased henceforth, but Sir Edmond's reproaches aroused Sidney's ire and led to his own imprisonment in Dublin Castle. He escaped from his gaolers after a time.

Captain Humphrey Gilbert, who had been largely responsible for the overthrow of Shane O'Neill in the north, and who had done good service in Connaught, was sent for to take command in Munster. The appearance of this able soldier on the scene soon changed the aspect of affairs. Having assembled a strong force in September he attacked McCarthy More and Fitzmaurice, who were threatening Kilmallock with 1500 foot and 60 horse. Captain Warde reports that he "overthrew" them, but the encounter cannot be regarded as decisive as far as Fitzmaurice was concerned. It caused, however, the defection of most of his allies. Gilbert went to Cork for more soldiers. On his return he stormed Garrystown Castle and put its garrison of 40 men to the sword. He next marched through Connelloe and Kenry in County Limerick, where (it is curious to read) "never any English ensign was displayed" (previously, that is). Twenty-seven castles were surrendered to him. These were mostly the square peel-towers whose ruins are so plentiful in the district to-day. Their garrisons were usually small. A few were important, however, as Askeaton and Shanid are mentioned among the number. Gilbert hanged and quartered some of the "McShes" (McSheehys ?) and Lacys. Barbarities of the kind are explained, if not justified, by the custom of the time and the English policy of relentless terrorism, but the custom seems to have been rather one-sided. Neither the English nor the Irish historians accuse the Irish of many savage acts of the kind.

They are nearly all laid to the charge of the Government and its agents.

McCarthy More was disheartened by the defeat at Kilmallock, and, no doubt, by the difficulty of finding maintenance for his soldiers in the field. On November 13 Gilbert reported that this chieftain and McDonogh (McCarthy of Duhallow) had sent in letters of submission, and that John FitzJohn of Desmond ("John Oge", uncle to Earl Gerald) had taken Donaskeagh Castle.[1]

[1] The following depositions concerning this transaction have much local topographical interest :

"These things following were done by John FitzJohn of Desmond, who was accused by Garret McThomas of Ballygibbon, viz. at Kilmallock on the 3rd of December. He did talk with James F. Moryce in Arlogh (Aherlow) beside the abbey on the south side of the same (Moore Abbey), by the woodside about a mile from the said abbey, which abbey was after that burned by the Colonel's (Gilbert's) horsemen, the very same night that John of Desmond had the castle of Doneskeagh being the 7th November 1569, he sending at the same time his man Eohogan to go with John to deliver him the castle."

Deposition of Gibbon Rowe McRichard, servant to John FitzJohn of Desmond, taken at Kilmallock, Dec. 9, 1569 :

"That John FitzJohn of Desmond and he did lie at Carrigittell" (probably Carrigkettle, near Kilteely) "the Saturday night before the castle of Doneskeagh was taken, and did break their fast there in the morning ; and from thence they went to Knockorne" (Knockordan : this shows that the modern form is probably a corruption). "And there John Oge McJohn McTibbot came to them, and from thence the said John of Desmond and his man Gibbon went to the abbey of Galbally in Arlogh, and from thence they went towards the castle of Dongrote; and all

On December 1 Gilbert wrote further that Kerry (Kenry) and Connello had been reduced to obedience. James Fitzmaurice had been "preyed" and forty of his men slain in Arlaghe (now generally called Aherlowe), and a castle and all in it burnt.

"And all in it!" Truly these were "spacious days". There were castles in the glen of Aherlow at Ballynacourty and Ballydrehid as well as Dungrud in those days.[1]

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that time the said John was in talk with one Kenedy McMoryertogh; and from thence they returned back again to Knockorne where they lay the half the night, and then rose and went to Doneskeogh."

John FitzJohn of Desmond, Dec. 9, 1569, continues the above:

He "came back again to Knockorne, and there went and took his supper and he and his horseman went from thence to Latten, and from thence he went to Sheronet (Shronell) and so to Doneskeogh and at his first coming thither caused his footmen to raise the cry that the ward (guard) should think they had been Englishmen and entering into it they found there but one boy, and no more" (*Carew MSS.* pp. 389-390).

[1] This burnt castle was probably Ballynacourty, for Perrot writes later on, in his *Considerations for the Quiett Mainteyning of the State of Munster*:

"XXXIII. That another small Castell being in Arlough called Ballyny Court, may lykewyse be buylded up which will be don with the matter of L [50] pounds, whereby if any Rebell should hereafter start out, drawing himselfe unto the said Woode, he might not be able there longe to continew." Apparently it was never restored.

When Earl Gerald married for the second time, his wife had brought as part of her dower "the town of Balleyn Courte, beside Hahealagh" (which seems to be another quaint spelling of Aherlow), "the castle and town of

On October 26 we find Jasper Horsey (whose letter from Cork we may remember) appointed Seneschal of Imokilly. He was "brother to the Captain of the Isle of Wight", and apparently one of the gentlemen-adventurers. His appointment proved a very unsubstantial one. There was another seneschal there, a Geraldine, who was the real man in power, as the Government learned to their cost, for a long time afterwards.[1]

Gilbert further reported that on December 4 the Earl of Clancarr (McCarthy More) and McCarthy of Duhallow came in, fell on their knees, and acknowledged their treasons. Gilbert adds, curiously enough, that he "refused parley" or peace with any rebels. He would not have them think that the Queen had more need of their services than they had of her mercy. He had put many to the sword, and spared not any malefactor unexecuted that came to his hands. No conquered nation would ever yield obedience for love, but rather for fear.

With such sentiments, and skilful soldier as he was, he was on the fair way to become a great Irish proprietor, as his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh did. But his eyesight was giving him constant trouble, and he sought his recall. He was made a colonel and knighted for his service.

Bridge's ford, Alias Behellahyn Drehid" (Ballydrehid), "parcel of the said Earl's marriage goods with the Countess, his wife that now is, and in the tenure of Muskry Curcke" (*Desmond Inquisition*). And so the Desmonds came to Aherlow near their allies, the O'Briens of that place.

[1] Imokilly is the district north and west of Youghal.

1570 opened with projects for appointing a president over Munster. This would be tantamount to taking over the government of the province (or nearly all of it) from the Desmonds. Gilbert would surely have been the chosen governor if his health had permitted it.

But what is this? On February 9 we read that the indefatigable Fitzmaurice had got a new force together and "spoiled" Kilmallock right in the heart of the country which Gilbert had so recently tamed.

Very little further occurred in 1570. The Earl of Thomond was attacked by Ormond and ultimately forced to submit. Incidentally Ormond, on his march, executed "Conogher Eghcowne, McBrien O'Goonagh's son, who was James Fitzmaurice's chiefest instrument". Ormond wrote that his brother, Sir Edmond, was certainly bewitched. He himself was also bewitched, but recovered!

Sir W. St. Leger appears to have been still in charge of Desmond and his brother in England, for he wrote in October for money, which the Queen lent in reply to his application. He wanted it for the support of the Earl and Sir John with the Countess, who had rejoined her husband, and their "families" to the number of thirteen or fourteen persons. They had not "so much of their own as to buy them a pair of shoes, and are in despair to have anything out of their own country".

Ormond's brothers had submitted, but the grant of their pardon was delayed.

And so the whole brunt of the struggle fell on Fitzmaurice's shoulders. From this forward he

maintained the interests of the Desmonds, with small help from Irish or Anglo-Irish chieftains. The O'Briens of Coonagh and of Aherlow and a few others stood loyally by him and furnished him with men and provisions to the last, but the other magnates of Munster were on the side of the Government at this time.

Fitzmaurice had realised that the small castles of the country afforded poor defence against the well-equipped troops of the Queen, and had taken to the woods and fastnesses of the country.

Aherlow was an ideal centre in this respect and was occupied by people thoroughly friendly to him. And so it became his principal stronghold.

From the woods there he could attack the Ormond territories lying north of Cahir, along the River Suir, or raid the fertile country between Tipperary and Limerick. He could also threaten or attack Kilmallock from the fastness of Kylemore, the Great Wood, which was almost a continuation of the Aherlow woods, and easily accessible from there. Occasionally he might retreat to Drumfinghin on the Blackwater, for the strength of Aherlow lay in its woods and hill-paths. It was quite easy of approach for an enemy, and it might prove desirable to leave it at times if a foe came in strength, or for the purpose of casting an eye over other districts, especially that of the very hostile Geraldine Lord of Decies.[1]

[1] There was another Drumfinghin in the great woods near Kilfinane. There is reason to think that this place is meant in some of the references which follow, and not the Blackwater Drumfinghin.

Fitzmaurice, as the result shows, knew well how to utilise these fastnesses for a kind of guerilla warfare, avoiding open encounter as a rule, with the better-equipped and better-disciplined English soldiers. The ultimate attainment of his primary objects is the best evidence of the wisdom of his tactics.

Gilbert now obtained leave to return to England, on account of the state of his eyesight. He married a rich brewer's widow there, but the spirit of adventure remained in his blood, and he attempted to found a colony in North America, but the project proved a failure. On the return voyage the ship was lost, Gilbert being drowned.

SIR JOHN PERROT BECOMES PRESIDENT

Gilbert's successes seemed to pave the way for the development of English projects in Munster. The Council resolved to send over a president at length. Towards the end of 1570 Sir John Perrot was appointed to the post, apparently at the earnest request of Ormond, who had asked that he should be sent even if it were necessary to force him to accept the position. He was President of Wales at the time.

He made careful provision for his stay in Ireland. In November there were "Remembrances" of his for entertainment, a preacher, post horses, transportation of grain, butter, cheese, beer, etc. He did not, however, arrive in Ireland until February 27, 1571.

From his *Life* we learn that he was "a man

in stature very tall and big, exceeding the ordinary stature of men by much, and almost equal to the mightiest hero that lived in his time". He was strong in proportion. His hair was "allburne" until it grew grey. He is reputed to have been a son of Henry VIII., and therefore a sort of brother of Elizabeth, and there does not appear to be any strong reason to doubt the supposition. He was as impulsive, choleric, and fond of display as his reputed father. Vain and hasty, he was yet a gallant if somewhat boastful fighter, and a mild ruler in time of peace.

Though he killed or hanged "some 800 miserable creatures of one sort or another", he was, in one respect, a marked exception to the ordinary type of English official in Ireland at the time. He had no disposition to enrich himself at the expense of the Irish-born by confiscation of their lands or properties. This probably accounts for the fact that when he relinquished the Presidency of Munster in 1573, his departure was lamented by the poor, the widows, the infirm, and indigent of the country.[1] He was always ready to meet Fitzmaurice in the open field, and was competent to handle his superior forces in such case, but seems to have been outmatched when there was any question of strategy or subtlety. But he loved display, and his taste for gorgeous costumes would have delighted the heart of the author of *Sartor Resartus*.

In his *Life* we are told that within three days of his arrival Fitzmaurice "burned the town of

[1] *A.F.M.*

Kilmallock, hanged the sovereign of that town and others of the townsmen (as many as he could take) at the high Cross on the market place and carried all the plate and wealth of the town with him ".

This is an example of the tendency to accept exaggerated reports which is characteristic of other times, as well as those of Elizabeth. The official accounts merely state that Fitzmaurice burnt the town, and that Edward Butler pursued him, and rescued 500 cattle, part of the plunder. Ormond also gathered his " power " and joined in the pursuit. On March 3 the latter wrote from Carrick that the townsmen of Kilmallock were suspected of " practice " with Fitzmaurice, and that not above two of them were killed when he burnt their town. This lack of savagery on the part of the attackers seems only explicable on the theory of treachery, to Ormond's mind.

The cattle raid must have been a mere incident in this daring affair, for we are told [1] that Fitzmaurice's men were engaged for three days and three nights in carrying away treasure and precious goods of all kinds, including cups and ornamented goblets, to the woods and forest of Aherlow.

Ormond followed, and wrote (March 18) that he had travelled all " Aharlaghe " on foot hoping to meet the traitor, but with no success apparently. The mountain and forest labyrinths of Aherlow were very wide.

In this month the Earl of Clancarr submitted upon his knees to the Queen's mercy before the Lord Deputy in the Cathedral Church of Dublin.

[1] *A.F.M.*

No submission seemed to be complete in those days without humiliating ceremonies of the kind. This was, no doubt, as a warning and an example to other outlaws.

Reports of Fitzmaurice's activities continued to pour in. The people of Youghal were in great distress. One curious report complains of "cough, death and decay" of the inhabitants of that town, and adds that the rebels who were besieging it numbered 800. On April 12 the Lord Justice wrote that Fitzmaurice was in great strength, and on the 18th he added that the state of "this dear Jewel, Ireland" would not let him eat or sleep.

A report from one William Herrlle (a spy, apparently) said that an invasion of Frenchmen and Spaniards was expected in Ireland.

Fitzmaurice, from the first, looked towards the Continent for help. He was enough of an experienced soldier to be aware that he could not resist the power of England, single-handed, for an indefinite time, backed as it was by the Ormond strength in Ireland. Spain and France were Catholic powers, and likely to resist the forcible imposition of the new religion on Ireland. Indeed, the advocates of the Reformation daily made it more distasteful to the people. On April 16 the Chancellor, Weston, Archbishop of Dublin, wrote that Richard Dixon, who had been Bishop of Cork for less than twelve months, and who had a married wife, had retained under colour of matrimony a woman of suspected life as his wife. The great dignitaries of the new Church were usually either officers of state in the first place, and much

occupied with public affairs, and ecclesiastics only in the second; or else their lives were such as to command no respect from the people to whom they were supposed to serve as guides and examples.

Fitzmaurice, deserted by most of his Irish supporters and allies, determined to send the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, "Maurice Creagh" (*recte* Maurice Reagh Fitzgibbon), as an envoy to France and Spain to seek help. The Archbishop found an assistant in the son of a Protestant Dean of Cashel. This man, named Redmond Stacbolde, had been deprived of a poor benefice by his own Archbishop, probably for good reasons. This helper proved traitor to both sides. Being taken and subsequently examined in London, he gave an account of these negotiations.

From him we learn that Dr. "Creagh" approached the Cardinal-Bishop of Medina dell Campo, and the secretaries Sayas and Brasso, in his mission to Spain. He asked for 10,000 men, and the King promised 5000 if an agreement were not arrived at with reference to some money-claims that he was pressing against England. O'Neill, McCarthy More, O'Sullivan More, and O'Sullivan Beare were parties to this negotiation, being attracted again to Fitzmaurice's side, we may suppose, by the prospect of powerful military aid.

A landing was to be made at Limerick, and a fortress was to be erected at Foynes Island. Forts were also to be constructed at Baltimore and Dingle. The Marquis of Saisas, captain of the King's galleys, and "the old captayne that served

in the Newe fond lands, should have the leading". They were to have 8 double cannons, 6 demi-cannons, and 12 culverins with all their appurtenances, and wine, money, and corn for a twelvemonth.

The Archbishop wrote also to France to the Cardinal of Lorraine. Stacbolde, who was the bearer of the letter, was examined before the French Council, when it was determined to send one Monsieur La Roche to treat with Fitzmaurice. There was a promise to send 12,000 men from France, victuals for a year, 12 cannons royal, 12 demi-cannons, with smaller artillery and ammunition.

Evidently Fitzmaurice meant business, but the English Court was too wideawake to permit the execution of these projects. The Court of France was kept amused with negotiations for a marriage between the King's brother, the Duke of Anjou, and Queen Elizabeth. The King of Spain, Philip, who had been married to her sister Queen Mary, also entertained hopes in the same direction. The English statesmen cleverly kept both negotiations alive, and prevented any aid being sent to Fitzmaurice. Stacbolde says that the latter sent his son for presentation to the King of France. The persons who nailed Bulls (very probably the Pope's Bulls, denouncing Elizabeth's claim to supremacy in religious matters) to Limerick gates were Gerode Fitz Calloghe, priest, Harry Ryan, student, and Geoffrey Fitz Myler Busch, horseman. Stacbolde also said that Fitzmaurice took meat and drink from Muskry and was "revived from them" (the

Bourkes of Muskry, probably) when he was at Aharlagh. His mother-in-law and his sister-in-law had the custody of Fitzmaurice's "plathe and jewells".

On May 1 Ormond reported that James Fitzmaurice's man had come out of Spain. He had gone to Aherlow with the news that a great company of ships "be ready to come".

On Saturday James had assaulted Sir Thomas of Desmond (Thomas Ruadh, now definitely on the English side), and slain forty of his men and hanged two captains of his gallowglasses (no doubt to teach him on which side a Desmond ought to fight).

That extraordinary adventurer Stukeley became mixed up in the Spanish negotiations at this time. He had lived at Enniscorthy and had sought appointments under the English Government in Ireland, but the Queen thoroughly distrusted him, and resolutely refused to sanction his appointment to any position. Thereupon he appears to have made his way to Spain, where he managed to get a hearing at Court for his projects of invading Ireland. English spies in Spain carefully noted all his movements, and even reported that an army was being organised to invade Ireland under his command; also that he had quarrelled with Fitzmaurice's ambassador, the Archbishop of Cashel. They say that he had 12,000 men granted to him. However, he lost favour with the Spanish Court somehow, and proceeded to Rome with his projects.

On July 18 Ormond sent to Burghley (Cecil)

a copy of the Bull put up by James Fitzmaurice at the Limerick gates. Also a report of a great fleet " landed " to aid the " arch-rebel " (to such bad eminence had he now been promoted).

On the same date Fitzmaurice sent a certain letter to Miler Magrath, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel. Perhaps we may break the thread of the story here for a while to examine the record of this amazing overseer of things spiritual, bestowed upon the benighted people of Munster by a careful Government.

MILER MAGRATH

Some of the English historical writers allege that no one was persecuted because of his religious beliefs in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign.

There may be some technical truth in that. A man was not tried for being a Catholic. But with the suppression of the abbeys and Catholic schools, bishops and priests were compelled to go to the Continent for training and consecration, and this was a crime in itself. When those ecclesiastics returned they were imprisoned, tortured, and in some cases hanged. Supporters of the Queen's claims were appointed to all government posts, and to Church benefices and preferments as they fell vacant. And prominent laymen were treated as recusants if they adhered openly to the old faith.

To the Irish people the Reformation came in the guise of a government measure. To them it was something purely English, and a matter of

politics. The main question involved at first was whether the Pope or the sovereign of England was to be supreme in ecclesiastical affairs. The supporters of the Reformation in Ireland, on its first appearance there, were those nobles and chieftains who had obtained, or hoped to obtain, grants of confiscated Church property, or those ecclesiastics who had conformed reluctantly, to retain their benefices or secure something better.

Naturally the merits and demerits of the new religion were largely weighed and judged by the characters of the men appointed to high places in the Reformed Church. In Munster, Miler Magrath was the most prominent of these.

By way of contrast it may be useful to glance at the records of the life of a Catholic archbishop in Elizabeth's time before entering upon Miler's story.

Richard Creagh was the son of a respectable merchant of Limerick and was born about 1515. He took up his father's business and traded largely with the Continent, a ship of which he was part-proprietor being captured by the French during the reign of Henry VIII. It was valued at 9000 ducats.

As he was about to embark in a Spanish port on his return from one of his trading expeditions he entered a church on the quay to say a prayer. Mass was just beginning, and, according to his rule of life, he remained until it ended. On leaving the church he saw that his vessel had cast off from the quay. He called and signalled in vain. The ship sailed on. But before it had got

out of sight it was struck by a sudden squall, and sank in a few minutes. All on board perished.

This event induced him to take to a religious life. He became a priest. In Queen Mary's time he refused the bishopric of Limerick and the archbishopric of Cashel, preferring to remain quietly at Louvain.

He returned to Ireland after a time and opened a school in Limerick. He was appointed, much against his own desire, to be Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland in 1564.

He was arrested a day or two before Christmas whilst celebrating Mass. He was sent in chains to London. At Easter 1565 he escaped from the Tower and returned to Louvain. He then went to Spain.

He was English by descent and in all his sympathies, like most of the townsmen of Ireland, and he wrote to Sir Robert Leicester soliciting the Queen's sanction for his return to Armagh on condition of loyalty to her throne. His letters remained unanswered.

In the summer of 1566 he returned to Ireland. He wrote on Christmas Day to Sidney asking permission to use the churches, and stating that he was urging Shane O'Neill to try to be at accord with the Queen and the Lord Deputy.

Sidney's only answer was to set a price on his head.

On April 30, 1567, he was captured again and sent to Dublin Castle. He was tried for prison-breaking and denying the Queen's supremacy in religious matters, but the jury were strangely

independent. They acquitted him, but he was led back to prison. The jurors were also imprisoned and heavily fined.

About October 1567 he again escaped from prison accompanied by his gaoler, who was moved to compassion by his sufferings. Soon afterwards, however, he was again given up by a retainer of the Earl of Kildare on a promise of his life being spared.

He was sent to the Tower again. In 1574–75 he was sent to a Dublin prison for some reason, but his mere presence influenced the Irish people so much that the Irish Government begged to have him sent back to the Tower, where he died in 1587. Some writers state that he was poisoned. His life appears to be one of suffering patiently endured, whilst his sanctity and mildness endeared him to his people. Froude seeks to deny his lengthened imprisonment, but the facts seem beyond dispute.[1]

Miler Magrath was of a very different type. He was the son of Donagh, otherwise Gillagmana Magrath, chief of his sept and name in "Thearmon" or Termon Magrath. There the latter was the owner of two castles and many townlands.[2]

[1] See Roth's *Analecta*.

[2] These he surrendered ultimately to the Queen, obtaining a re-grant in the usual way with succession to Miler and his sons. This was a plan much in favour at the time. It confiscated all the rights of the clan to the lands which they held in common according to Irish law and custom.

Thearmon is Termon, on the shores of Lough Erne, in the neighbourhood of Pettigoe.

Miler became a Franciscan friar and went to Rome. There he was consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor by the Pope himself on October 12, 1565. On landing in Ireland in 1566 he accompanied Dr. Creagh, whose story has been related above, on a visit to Shane O'Neill at Inishdavell.

On May 31, 1567, Thomas Lancaster wrote to Cecil informing him that Maguire (who had his own quarrel with Shane) and Miler Magrath, the titular Bishop of Down, who had of late come from Rome, came to the Lord Deputy at Drogheda. On June 15 there was a memorial of certain things "not to be expressed in writing, but to be declared by speech", including the following:

"Miler Magrath, Bishop of Down, craves to be restored."

How had this come about?

It appears that Dr. Creagh had preached a sermon which offended Shane and Miler for different reasons. He denounced certain military measures of Shane involving the destruction of Armagh church, and he urged an effort to make peace with the English authorities.

Miler alleged that his superior had attacked the Pope's authority, and reported the matter to Rome. The Primate was easily able to confound his accuser and, in his disappointment, Miler seems to have resolved to abandon the old religion and go over to the new. On July 6 the Queen signified that his submission was accepted, and announced as her policy that he and others were to be encouraged to take their bishoprics from her.

O'Sullivan [1] accuses him of sinning, not through ignorance, but through love of pleasure, and adds that he did not seek to find out priests nor to "withdraw Catholics from the true religion". He says that when Miler was sent from Rome to England (*sic*) he went with other things than the success of his mission in his mind. For he displayed ostentatiously a large ornamental case suspended from his neck and containing the papal letters for no other purpose than that they might reveal his state and quality if arrested.

In his *History of Clonmel* Father Bourke states that he connived at the existence of a Catholic school in that town. Some of his biographers [2] say that Miler kept on good terms with his cousin, Dermod Creagh, Papal Bishop of Cork, and he was even accused in 1591 of writing to his wife that his cousin "Darby Kragh" was to be sent out of the country or he would be taken, adding a direction to burn the letter. This may have been a forgery.

It is also stated, however, that he permitted his papal rival, Dr. Kearney, to live quietly in Cashel, though he might easily have had him arrested. He sometimes expressed anxiety about his own soul, and appears to have held out hopes frequently to the Catholics of his return to his original faith. He used the same weapon as a threat whenever pressed by Government commissioners or others making inconvenient inquiries into the administration of his sees.

On his submission he went to England and was

[1] *Catholicæ Iberniæ.* [2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

appointed Bishop of Clogher by the Queen, being consecrated in January 1569. He remained in England until February 1570, when he wrote to the Privy Council asking to have the bishopric and also the priories, rectories, and chapels which he formerly held from Rome. He also wanted money for his journey to Ireland.

In February 1571 he was appointed Archbishop of Cashel and Emly by the Queen, and very soon came into contact with Fitzmaurice, who had much to say in these districts at the time.

In 1575, the Government having made much use of his services meantime in intriguing with the rebels, he was attacked and badly wounded by a rebel kern on his way to Dublin.

In 1580 he was deprived of his papal benefice of Down and Connor by the Pope. He had held it for nine years whilst an Elizabethan bishop also, so that the Pope cannot be accused of having acted with undue haste, but of course Miler was playing with both sides in the interval.

In 1582 he obtained the Sees of Waterford and Lismore *in commendam*, and held them, with the exception of the period 1589 to 1592, until 1608, when he exchanged them. In 1584 he arrested Dr. MacBrian, Papal Bishop of Emly.

In October 1591 he was accused by Connell MacArdell, Bishop of Clogher, of making an extortionate cess for his dogs on the clergy of the diocese of Clogher. He was next accused of having intrigued with the Earl of Desmond, and even of supplying him with arms, but managed, as he always did, to escape any condemnation. He was

captured by Tyrone's son in 1599, but Tyrone released him as a consecrated bishop "even though deprived".

In 1600 he was accused again to the Government, but succeeded in satisfying Cecil, who, however, thought him a turbulent person. In the following year Cecil complained that he was said "very irreligiously to suffer his Church to be like an hogsty".

In 1610 William Knight was appointed coadjutor to Miler, then over ninety years old. Knight, however, did not stay long in Ireland. He disgraced himself by appearing drunk in public. The narrator[1] unkindly adds that Miler was very fond of whisky himself.

In 1601 Archbishop Thomas Jones of Dublin said that, as a rule, in Miler's diocese no provision was made for divine service, and that those parts scarcely knew that there was a God.

He got over a regal commission of visitation in 1615 by the simple plan of refusing to give the Commissioners any satisfactory explanation as to his revenues. In such cases he usually silenced his questioners by hints of returning to his ancient faith.

After his death (he lived to the age of 100, and probably died a Catholic) a royal letter was sent over in the reign of Charles I., stating that the lands and revenues of the two dioceses of Cashel and Emly were so diminished that the income did not exceed £60 a year (Miler put the value at £98, 0s. 4d. in 1591), and that this happened in the

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

time of "the late Milerus", by whose acts and connivancy this diminution occurred; that his sons and executors were grown of great estate by the robberies made by him upon the Church, and ordering that they should pay over any such sums found to be due to the new Archbishop for the repairing of the Churches, which were then in great decay.[1]

Miler, in fact, does not seem to have been a very warm supporter of the new religion. As we have seen, he is said to have died a Catholic, and some at any rate of his four sons and four daughters were Catholics in his lifetime, although some of the former contrived to possess themselves of Protestant benefices. He is not exactly a prelate of whom any Church would boast. Indeed the good man's main object appears to have been to feather his own nest as comfortably as possible in these stormy times. He constructed a tomb for himself in the Cathedral on the Rock of Cashel, a year or two before his death. It is surmounted by a slab, said to have been taken characteristically from the tomb of some one else to which it belonged originally.

It is adorned with an epitaph composed by Miler himself. Though he describes himself in its heading as Archbishop of Cashel, the only dignity of his that is otherwise referred to in the epitaph is the Down bishopric, which was that held by him as a Catholic. It was never held from the Queen, who appointed another bishop there when she made Miler Bishop of Clogher. The latter

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ireland*, Morrin.

held in his time no less than four Protestant bishoprics and seventy-seven spiritual livings.

The epitaph at Cashel is as follows:

MILERI MAGRATH ARCHIEPI. CASHELENSIS
AD VIATOREM CARMEN
VENERAT IN DUNO PRIMO SANCTISSIMUS OLIM
PATRICIUS NOSTRI GLORIA MAGNA SOLI
HUIC EGO SUCCEDENS UTINAM TAM SANCTUS UT ILLE
SIC DUNI PRIMO TEMPORE PRAESUL ERAM
ANGLIA LUSTRA DECEM SED POST TUA SCEPTRA COLEBAM
PRINCIPIBUS PLACUI MARTE TONANTE TUIS
HIC UBI SUM POSITUS NON SUM SUM NON UBI NON SUM
SUM NEC IN AMBOBUS SUM SED UTROQUE LOCO 1621
DOMINUS EST QUI ME JUDICAT Cor. 4
QUI STAT CAVEAT NE CADET

That is, "The Ode or Lay of Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, to the Wayfarer." It starts by reciting that the most saintly Patrick, the great glory of our land, came at first into Down in former times:

"I" (Miler), "successor to him—would that I were as holy—was, at the outset, bishop of Down, but afterwards served thee, England, for 50 years. I pleased thy princes in the midst of wars." (Here he goes off at a tangent and evolves a kind of riddle, possibly having some cryptic reference to his own attempt to stand on two stools.) "Here, where I am laid, I am not" (that is, presumably, the soul of me), "I am not where I am not." (One of these "nots" seems to have been inserted in error.) "Neither am I in both places, but I am in each place." (Then another inconsequent, if purposeful flight.) "The Lord is my

Judge. Let him who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall." [1]

The last lines are probably intended as a sort of apologia for his record. As such they fit both ways. With regard to his sins and his creeds we may leave him to the Great Court of Appeal which he has invoked, but he stands at the bar of history as one of the foremost figures in the political and religious quarrel forced upon the people of the greater Desmond by the policy of the English Court, and no proper understanding of the events of the time can be arrived at without some knowledge of his career.

Anyhow, there he lies in the ruins of the great Cathedral on the Rock, under his pilfered slab (if the conjecture be true), chanting, or rather croaking, his queer lay to the passer-by for the last three hundred years or so.

Meantime, well may we wonder what the Irish of Munster thought of this impossible overseer of souls who was sent to teach them, by word and example, that their beliefs were erroneous. Under the most favourable circumstances it is doubtful if the Reformation doctrines and ceremonial would have appealed to them. With such an evangelist, was it strange that they clung to their own bishops and priests, who snatched every rare opportunity of preaching and teaching, on the mountain-side or in hidden resorts, in the laneways of the towns, in constant peril of imprisonment and torture, or even of death on the scaffold, amidst incredible

[1] There is a well-known poetical translation by Sir James Ware.

hardships and toils? They were always poor, with a poverty that placed them on a level with the humblest of the members of their flocks. Honours, riches, and power were the rewards of the prelates of the Queen, but the very lack of those things won for their opponents the affections of their people, even unto death.

MILER AND FITZMAURICE

Miler was not a persecutor of his old comrades as a rule, but soon after his arrival at Cashel he had two friars arrested and imprisoned in his own house. Possibly he had the proverbial zeal of the novice, or it may have been that the friars had been unusually provocative in denouncing him and the Queen. (O'Sullivan tells us of his suffering another zealous friar to reproach his wife and threaten her with divine punishment.)

In arresting those two friars, however, he drew upon himself the unwelcome notice of a certain sojourner in the glen of Aherlow. A day or two after the arrest some woollen-cloaked kern must have handed in the following alarming epistle at his palace:

"My friend as you deserve. I have commended myself unto you so, as I am informed that you have taken prisoners the poor friars for preaching the word of God to the poor people who are blinded with ignorancie those many years, for lack of good pastors that would show them their duty, wherefore I do require you to enlarge at free

liberty the said friars that we may receive good fruit thereby and illuminate our hearts receiving from their mouths the just way of our salvation the which we need very much by reason of our long continuance in obscurity, and in granting the said request at this my contemplation you bind me to do you friendship and pleasure, otherwise if you do it not, do not only take heed of your own proper body, but also of your goods, your adherents and all that will be obedient to pay you any kind of rent or duty, without fail to the (left ?) coal of fire in their houses and buildings. I will, with the permission of God, see them brought all to ruin and destruction so that my powers may stretch thereunto. Therefore, choose to take wise and sober Council in your proceeding.

" From Aharlaghe this XIXth day of July 1571.

" Your friend as you merit,

" James fz Morishe of Desmonde."

" In ōr tribulatione spes nostra
Jesus Maria.

" To Meolmorye McCrache
At Cashell or elsewhere."

From the palace at Cashel, Galtymore can be seen. Somewhere under its shadow soars this wild falcon. What is a poor easy-going archbishop to do in face of the threatened swoop? Assuredly he must heartily wish that he had left the friars in peace, even though they had preached against the Queen and one of them had bulls and letters from Rome.

But relief comes from another quarter. Edward Butler, lately in rebellion and not yet fully pardoned, came to the Archbishop's house and took away the friars by force.

Miler, on hearing of this, followed him and came up with him. Edward refused to give up the friars. He set them at liberty, saying that they were poor men and powerless to do harm. He took advantage of the encounter, at the same time, to propose to Miler that he should write to the Lords Justices and Council in Dublin asking for a protection for Edward and that they should sue the Queen for his pardon.

In return Edward promised "to overthrow the said rebeller James Fitzmaurice in bringing him to your hands, other in killing of him" within a month after receiving the said pardon.

The Lords Justices thought, with much reason, that the whole thing, including the release of the friars, was an arranged business between Miler and Edward—as a cloak for their meeting. As such it had the advantage, too, of a compliance with the demands of that dangerous neighbour in Aherlow. Anyhow, Miler wrote an account of the whole affair to Dublin from "the Cammes",[1] with many stipulations for secrecy, and some lines in Latin and capital letters which the Council thought very suspicious. These seem to have hinted at the existence of deep and mysterious conspiracies, only to be spoken of with bated breath, the capital letters being meant to represent the names of great magnates involved in those

[1] Probably Camas, near Cashel.

dark transactions. Miler was thoroughly alarmed. He wrote:

"I beseech your honour not to shew the secrets of this letter, touching Mr. Edward Butler and James Fitzmaurice, to any but to these that will keep it as secret, lest if it were known to be sent by me I should never eschew the danger thereof if the said James or his friends were certified thereof."

The Lords Justices sent the letters to the Queen strongly urging the acceptance of Edward Butler's proposal. They kept the business strictly secret otherwise. This secrecy suggests some treacherous plan or other on the part of Edward in order to accomplish his undertaking to deliver up his old ally, Fitzmaurice, dead or alive within the space of a month. Whether it was that the plot was too treacherous for the Queen and Cecil—and they were not always squeamish—or that they distrusted Edward Butler, the proposals do not seem to have been accepted. At any rate Fitzmaurice was not caught by any of the snares which were to have been set for him.

Edward Butler frequently fought on the Queen's side from thenceforward, and was ultimately pardoned in 1573. It is related that he attacked and besieged his old friend Miler in the latter's castle at Cashel in 1579, doubtless on some private quarrel.

Miler himself was summoned to Dublin to explain some of the cryptic references in the Latin lines in his letter.

He applied urgently for removal to the bishopric of Down, remote enough from Aherlow and its falcons, asking that some one else should be appointed Archbishop of Cashel.

The affair blew over, however, without need of this drastic remedy.

Fitzmaurice had become a very alarming personage by this time. On August 10 and 13 the sovereign and brethren of Kinsale and the mayor and brethren of Cork petitioned the Privy Council asking that the Earl and Sir John of Desmond should be sent over to Ireland to put down the rebels. On September 4 a similar petition was sent from the mayor and others from Youghal.

On September 6 Perrot intimated his purpose of attacking the rebel in "Arlagh". He objected to the return of the Earl, as he thought him "rash and void of government". He believed it desirable to have his brother Sir John over, however.

PERROT'S FIRST YEAR IN MUNSTER

About September 1571 Perrot, who had stated that he "would hunt the fox" (Fitzmaurice) "out of his hole" (in Aherlow), wrote a kind of memorandum of his military proceedings in Munster up to that date.

The document still exists, though in damaged condition. It is very curious. Perrot boasts a good deal on slender grounds, and is driven very close to apology in parts. There are gaps in the narrative owing to the injured condition of the

paper. In the following extract the additions in brackets are conjectural.

Extracted from Perrot's Memorandum

"The first Journey I made after my return from Dublin [where I had gone after I had come] to Waterford, was into Arlaghe to seek James Fitzmaurice [but he . . .] fled so as we could not meet with him but burnt his cabin[s . . .] in the wood and took the spoil of them and 150 kine besides [sheep etc.] . . . and goats. My L. of Ormond brought to this Journey 400 shot upon his own charge.

. . . . . .

"The first of May I went from Cork towards Limerick through Kilmallock which not long before was all burnt [by the . . .] rebel James and his company, saving [only . . .] the walls of . . . [which] were left wholly. I left there [a strong] band of [soldiers] . . . [as a protection] both to the late inhabitants thereof everywhere des[titute and dispersed] to draw [them back] and also as the meetest place in all the province for service up[on] the rebels, abode to re-edify the same by the people's return . . . [so that the] garrison might not only have the better places of abode than . . . but also by their being there to give strength unto the townsmen for bringing in of their corn left on the ground, to their relief and to [the storing of it] in the place which else had been left desolate, and the . . . parts of the province apart for service.

"From thence I went to [Limerick] and being gone forth to Killhowghye where I burnt a castle called the Pallace" [Pallasgrean probably] "a strong fastness of the traitor . . . and in my way homeward I took a strong castle of Tibbot B[utler]. In their master's absence the constable and ward thereof not only refused to come in but also with opprobrious words gave defences unto [our summons]. Neither would they suffer the said Tibbot their Master being com[e, to enter] whereupon by the Great Ordnance sent from Limerick four miles off [and by] the English foot bands it was evicted, and of the ward where . . . rebels being come in in Tibbot's absence—there were put to the [sword . . . ?] lusty and able persons. This castle was taken the 12 May [and then] redelivered to Tibbot upon good surety for his good behaviour.[1]

"After the having of the foresaid castle I returned to Limerick, and the same night I came back to Kilmallock towards Cork, and resting there

[1] The Kilhowghye or Kilhoogge referred to in Perrot's letters, and sometimes called Kilquig, does not seem to have been, as most writers of the period think, Kilcuaig in the Great Wood near Kilmallock. Perrot, in his letters, indicates that it was in the neighbourhood of Pallas, Ballyneety, and Castlegarde, all of which are far from the site of the Great Wood which lay mainly in Kilfinane neighbourhood. He also says that this Kilhoogge was not more than seven miles from Aherlow. Again, it is described elsewhere as commanding the passage from Limerick to Cashel. These bearings locate it as probably Coologe, near Pallasgrean. Kilcuaig is probably the pass through the mountains near Kilfinane, under the hill now known as Kilcruaig.

one night, the 13 May, as I with my company of horsemen and footmen were in a readiness, the cry was up upon certain kern of James his [band . . .] whereof the leader was a notable thief, owner of Aharlaghe, and named Mahon O'Brien, and they of the chiefest of James his kern who had taken a prey and were going with it towards Arlaghe. But although they were on their way v miles before our company, they were overtaken, the prey rescued and 29 of them slain, and their heads brought to Kilmallock whereof many were known by the townsmen to have been at the Spoil and burning of the same town before with James.

"From thence the 13th May I came to Cork where I stayed three or four days in preparing towards Castlemaine,[1] determining to take my way through the McSweenys, a people that were strong, well-stored of kine and that aided and relieved the rebels, and to take as many of their kine as I could, whereby they should be the less able to give help of victuals to the rebels.[2]

"And so sending most part of the victuals for the company by sea, to meet me on the way to Castlemaine, carrying but three days' victuals with us by hand, I set forward accompanied with the Earl of Ormond who brought to the field 400 men on horseback and . . . [foot] at his own charge. But being entered into the country and the ship-

[1] Near Tralee.

[2] The McSweenys were not a Munster tribe. They were gallowglasses imported from Ulster by the Earls of Desmond and settled in the South.

ping that carried the victuals to have come about stayed by contrary wind and [foul] weather, I abode there in expectation for their coming till the soldiers [for want of victuals . . .] were so weakened and fallen sick that at last, being not able to tarry any longer I was driven to come back to Cork for relief of the soldiers, and providing of other necessaries, having taken during my being in that country the space of 14 days, divers strong castles and about 7000 kine and garrans."

So far we see very little to justify Perrot's self-confidence. Another army of the size of Perrot's which had captured 7000 cattle would hardly have been starved into a retreat in fourteen days. But worse news is at hand.

"At my coming towards Cork on the way news was brought to me of the killing of Captain Morgan and 30 of his company by James and his men, which upon examination of the cause, I found him and them to be slain by their own foolish hardiness, having no commandment for me so to do but to bring the ship about the victuals, and they being aboard in the roads and seeing some of James his men on the shore gathering the prey of the country and driving it away, took boats and with such weapons as they had, went to the shore and rescued the prey, and yet not therewith satisfied, but abiding to fight more, or making little haste back—although they were warned of James his being near with his men being 500 in number —they were driven by the number of the rebels to the walls of an old church having no cover, where

they were so sore beaten from over the walls with stones, as being driven forth they were all slain saving vi boys which hid themselves in a garden hard by and being taken, were saved by James and afterwards sent back again safe."

This noble Geraldine did not war upon children. His chivalrous act was not a very big thing, perhaps. Still, we search in vain for anything like it in the records of the great warriors of the time on Elizabeth's side. The stories of Raleigh, of Grenville, of Gilbert, or of any other of these Elizabethan conquistadores, are not adorned by a single instance of the kind, or by any relief or illumination to the dark records of cruelty and slaughter. And this account of James's humanity is written by a foe, be it observed!

"During my being in the foresaid country Edmond and Turlough McSweeny, the chiefs of the McSweenies, came unto me and submitted themselves, and stood bound for their good behaviour afterwards.

"After my return from the McSweenys' country, staying at Cork [to refresh the . . .] soldiers I rode to my L. Roche's, 12 miles off, to have conference of Thomas of Desmond.[1]

"Rory McShee and other gentlemen [whom I had] left at Kilmallock at my coming from thence for the . . . and being there on Friday the viith day June after order t[aken I was] ready to come back to Cork, having in my company but a few . . .

[1] Probably Thomas Ruadh, our old friend. He had been knighted in 1569 by Sir H. Sidney.

Means, not wearing armour.

horsemen, and they most on their hackneys [1] and unarmed because I [meant] without stay to return, word came suddenly that James McMo[rris] passed from Arlaghe into Tannelagh [2] with all his stuffs and cattle . . . [there being in] his company 280 armed gallowglasses, 60 kern and about xv [score or hundreds, not clear which; may be footmen or cattle] with that small number of English horsemen, being not past l . . .[3] or horses, but as before I followed that day and all [. . . the night and in the morning] came upon him where having knowledge of . . . Irish horsemen that were in our company and ran away to him he . . . [drew up his men] in a good readiness all his carriage being gone before. And [we having but] a few Irish horsemen—whereof some never came nigh —and no [ordnance] but about 9 Irish guns that Wm. Lacy brought and xv . . . to charge them with our horsemen or horses would not [be possible . . .] yet by skirmishing with them the space of iii miles . . . on towards the bog keeping his men close thei . . . and slain of them 47 as I have had certain k[nowledge. We had but] one man killed, iii or iiii hurt and as many . . . [afterwards] died. And if any other [story is told it is a] lie. And since my coming having not lost past vii . . . [who] were slain I have had of his, for every man a score."

Perrot's account may be a trifle lengthy, but the

[1] These horsemen had a war-horse each, and one or more hackneys attended by horseboys. [2] Connello?
[3] That is to say, anything from 50 to 80 or so.

crisp Elizabethan English is intelligible enough, apart from the gaps caused by the injuries to his manuscript. He may be correct in thinking that he slew more of Fitzmaurice's followers than the latter did of his. Nevertheless his narrative is a trifle apologetic in tone, as if he had not seen his own high hopes fulfilled. If we had Fitzmaurice's account it might modify our impressions. One incident is not mentioned by Perrot at all, though it is given in his *Life*. There we are told that Fitzmaurice entrapped him in the wood of "Kilquey" near Kilmallock, and slew his secretary, Trowbrigg, who had £200 on his person. Perrot himself had a very narrow escape on this occasion from one of Fitzmaurice's men, who was about thrusting a pike through him when he was saved by one George Graeme, who ran the rebel through before he could give the deadly blow.

In this case Perrot followed Fitzmaurice with an inferior force, being misled by the report of a spy. In fact he appears to have been guilty of a piece of foolhardiness not very unlike that which he laid to the charge of the dead Captain Morgan.

"The xxj of June I set forward again towards Castle[maine carrying] xiii days' victuals, having before appointed the ordnance and [. . . for] that service to be brought about by sea from Limerick with . . . [design to] have been come to the place before I set forward, but being [come there] found it driven back by weather and contrary winds. So as [I was driven to . . .] spending time partly in conference with the Lords of the

country . . . [and in arranging of the] service, and in preparation of such things as should be needful [for the taking of] the Castle. After often driving back of the shipping with the [. . . foul] weather, when sometimes it was within a mile of the place. At last it [having arrived and] . . . being prepared and battery used as was thought best according [to the strength] of the place, standing on arches on a deep river, which doth ebb [with every] tide. The walls being of more force than was expected . . . the quantity of powder not serving to finish the battery [and render the place] sauteable [1] and besides having tarried there the space of xx days . . . [this time being employed in] tarrying for the ordnance and service, afterwards I was forced for [. . . want of provisions]—having almost famished the soldiers—to come back and . . . leave them at the Dingle under the charge of John L[ord] Herbert and certain [others] . . . having more store of powder I may go thither again to . . . [renew the] enterprize which now will soon be had . . . [the] walls being . . . battered so as some part of the vaults within are since fallen down and being [taken] . . . the rebel is left all succourless in Kerry, but such our miserable state here, as both in victuals, powder and any other things belonging to service . . . antes will ever be.

" After my return from Castlemaine, about the xxviith July to Cork I went straight from thence to Kilmallock, out of the which, according to the commodities of the place, I issued divers times,

[1] Assaultable.

[with the purpose of] annoying the rebels and seizing of their goods. I stayed there from the first of July until the 7th September [1] during which time about the 17th August [I learnt that] the rebels . . . were near Aharlagh and [were likely] there to stay . . . while I appointed a journey for certain days with the Lords of the country and mine own Company to go [against] the rebel and serve upon him and his where we might meet them, but the Lords by excuse of their unreadiness in so short a space—only iii or iiii days—to come appointed for the matter and at Castle . . . sent me word to meet me at the place appointed, which when I came and found them not there—the weather being very foul—as I was ready to go into Arlaghe after the rebel, news came straight that James and his Company had driven my L[ord . . .] into a castle, coming towards me, and I being on my way to go, so the matter . . . [res]cue him might dis . . . James with 500 gallowglasses and kern and xxii [Horsemen] . . . and by the space of a mile or more till they came . . . to us . . . but when [preparation] was made to meet them, having but 200 footmen and xxv horse. [The whole line is destroyed here. It very likely explained that James declined to attack Perrot whose army was drawn up in array, probably in a favourable position.]

" . . . still whereupon I writ to them that I

[1] Perrot's dates are confused here. He must have written hastily, for he had just stated that he only returned from the attack on Castlemaine about July 27. Possibly the " first of July " was written in error for August 1.

had rather deal with an army in any other country, and would undertake to end the war, than with those cowardly rogues and the sheep their Captain."

This is certainly an amusing comment from a leader, rather anticipating the Austrian general's famous condemnation of Napoleon's methods of breaking all the rules of the game. Perrot elsewhere described Fitzmaurice as "a man very valiant, politic and learned as any rebel hath been of that nation for many years", so that this special taunt appears to have been a mere piece of tactics calculated to goad Fitzmaurice into some rash action. It had no military result, but was probably responsible for a certain hasty challenge from Fitzmaurice of which we shall hear more.

"This done, the weather being foul and no good to be done, I came back to Kilmallock and being ill-provided of victuals for the soldiers, the Store being here at Cork xxiii miles off, and carriage not easily had to convey the same between, I came hither, as well for setting forward some further proportion of victuals towards Kilmallock for the Company there left, as also to keep sessions and spend some time in [Cork] hearing of cases between party and party which also is expedient. And although particularly my sundry journeys, my often ridings by night, long watching and fasting be not herein mentioned, which I did and suffered only for desire to perform my duty to the reformation of this Province and suppressing the rebel and his force yet was there very little time spent without travelling in person with the soldiers,

lying on the grass as they did, faring as they fared, and all for service sake, and yet is the matter so colourably bolstered among the Lords, as hardly shall I determine any matter of service but the rebel shall have knowledge thereof."[1]

So much from Perrot as to his campaign of 1571. It is evident that he had some rough experiences. How far his figures and estimates are reliable is a matter of opinion. But, even on his own showing, he had been twice repulsed at Castlemaine, not to mention the disaster to Morgan's force; as to the reported taking of 29 heads of rebels near Kilmallock, a passage from Spenser may possibly have some relevance.

Speaking of the captains on the English side, he says that sometimes "they do so handle the matter that they will do no great hurt to the enemies, yet for colour sake some men they will kill, even half with the consent of the enemy, being persons either of base regard, or enemies to the enemy, whose heads eftsoons they send to the Governor for a commendation of their great endeavour, telling how weighty a service they performed by cutting off such and such dangerous rebels."

However that may be, it is fairly clear that the operations of Perrot in 1571 met with small success. The trained English soldiers clad in leather jackets and armed with long bows or arquebuses—not to speak of the "ordnance" to which Perrot so often refers—could keep the Irish kern and gallowglasses at a distance from their well-

[1] Extended extracts from original of No. 6, vol. 34, *C.S.P.*

disciplined ranks, whilst the latter, armed only with light bows or spears for throwing in the case of the kern, and heavy pikes and axes in the case of the gallowglasses, could only be effective at comparatively close quarters. Firearms were not plentiful at either side, but even of these and the necessary powder the English had far better supplies.

It may be of interest here to note Froude's summary of Perrot's military achievements:

"He could never catch Fitzmaurice. The Irish gentlemen would not help him, and the Kerne were too swift of foot for the heavy English men-at-arms. Castles, however, could not run away, and castles contained men. After two years of work he had killed in fighting, or captured and hanged, some 800 miserable creatures of one sort or another. He burnt or blew up every stronghold, large or small, which closed its gates against him."

This is not quite accurate, however. Castlemaine, for example, closed its gates against Perrot, yet was a fortress long after his time. And though, no doubt, it was easy to batter down peel towers, the defenders of which had, at best, but a few arquebuses to oppose to Perrot's "ordnance" or cannon firing from a safe distance, yet the fighting in the open field was not always a mere pursuit of flying enemies.

Froude describes Perrot as "a straightforward soldier, vain, passionate, not very wise but anxious to do what was right". If we add that he had a careful eye to the commissariat, a taste for display, and a high opinion of the value of proper tailoring effects, the description might stand. He had

some loveable qualities for all that. He did not covet the lands or properties of his opponents. When he returned with a fleet after resigning the Presidency, he was received by the people with the warmest demonstrations of affection. They had learnt, to their cost, that there was another, and worse, type of Governor.

THE CHALLENGE

Fitzmaurice appeared to have been stung by Perrot's charge of cowardice, so as to be betrayed into a momentary rashness. He challenged Perrot to meet him in combat at Emly, twenty-four a side.

Perrot accepted the challenge and wrote [1] on November 14, 1571, from Kilmallock to Ormond informing him of the affair and praying him to " send Edward Butler and all his forces ". Now this may have been merely a protective measure, of course, but it has a sinister aspect. Edward Butler was still an outlaw who had not been formally pardoned. He had quarrelled with Fitzmaurice and was now his deadly enemy. He had proposed to Miler Magrath to deliver up Fitzmaurice dead or alive. It was not in accordance with Perrot's usual bluff straightforward ways to employ treacherous methods. Whatever his ideas were, there is no room for doubt as to Ormond's intentions.

On November 20 he wrote to the Lord Justice

[1] *C.S.P.*

that "the Lord President's letter makes him at his wit's end. Will stay him from his strange dealing if he can. Will repair to him immediately with all his force, ready to attack the rebel. His brother Edward is on the President's side."

But the chivalrous encounter never came off. On February 27 following, the Lord Justice Fitzwylliams wrote in reply to an inquiry from the English Privy Council, who were curious about the matter, that the traitor, Fitzmaurice, kept not the day of combat with the Lord President.

Perrot's *Life* gives fuller information. It had been arranged that the weapons were to be sword and target, and the dress (here we trace our brave Perrot's hand) Irish wincey. Perrot provided a scarlet costume, doubtless furnished with all due magnificent trimmings and tailorings. Followed by many of the nobility who desired to witness the combat, he came to Emly on the appointed day. It is not mentioned in this record, but no doubt Ormond was there or thereabouts, according to promise, ready to attack the rebel.

But, alas, no Fitzmaurice appeared. In his place there came forth one "Conor Roe O'Harnan", an Irish poet, who calmly informed Perrot that his master had decided not to fight with him, not because of any fear for his life, but because the Queen could appoint another President if Perrot were killed, but on Fitzmaurice's life depended the safety of all his people, there being none other to succeed him, or command like him.

Subsequent events proved only too well the

reasonableness of this forecast, but, as O'Daly's editor says, one would have liked to see Perrot's face on his reception of this announcement of the plentifulness of potential Lord Presidents. He was compelled to go back to Kilmallock with all his bravery of costume unsoiled by battle. And Ormond's troops and Edward Butler must have gone away disappointed at not finding their quarry.

Fitzmaurice's account of this business would be of interest if we had it. Though chivalrous, he was no fool, and was probably quite aware of the measures taken for his destruction. At any rate the town of Emly had to remain without his presence on that remarkable November day in 1571.

The Four Masters say that the siege of Castlemaine lasted from the festival of St. John in June to the middle of the harvest, but the besiegers effected nothing. Its defence was considered by the Irish writers to be one of Fitzmaurice's finest efforts.

In December the latter, having preyed Sir William Burke's country (near Limerick), was pursued by several captains, according to the *State Papers*, and lost eightscore men besides many drowned in the Mulkearne.[1] (Amongst the pursuing captains was Thomas Ruadh.)

On June 6, 1571, a son, destined to an unhappy

[1] Now the Mulkeare river, near Abington. Sir William Burke was Lord of Castleconnell and a relative of the Desmonds and Fitzmaurice. We shall hear of him again in tragical circumstances.

fate, was born to the Earl of Desmond in England. The Queen was his godmother.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1572

On January 4, 1572, Bourchier, uncle to the Earl of Bath, had razed Fitzmaurice's camp and slain 80 of his men (we are not told where). On February 5 Ormond wrote that Edward Butler with 500 men preyed the traitor in "Aharlagh".

In May, James Trant of Dingle, an interpreter, stated under examination that the French king had promised to send 5000 men, and that Fitzmaurice was to bring 20,000 of his own. The French king was offended because Fitzmaurice had sought aid from Spain.

This was seemingly Fitzmaurice's first attempt to seek aid from France and Spain. His ambassador is said to have been called "Gilly Duff". Fitzmaurice was evidently relying on a general Irish revolt if the French came over. He himself never had 2000 soldiers under his control at any period during his whole life.

The Clanricardes were in rebellion at this time, and Fitzmaurice went into Connaught to obtain the help of some of the Scotch soldiers whom they had with them, to raise the siege of Castlemaine, which was besieged again by Perrot aided by many Irish chieftains. After a three months' siege the defenders were starved out and the castle captured.

Fitzmaurice, whilst in Connaught, was one of the three leaders of an attack upon Athlone. This

place was reported on July 16 to be wholly burnt to the ground. The insurgents then burned other strongholds, their force being 60 horse and 2000 foot. Fitzmaurice, however, is credited with saving "Mr. Strange's House".

On August 14 and 26 (Castlemaine was untaken at the time) the Irish Government were evidently feeling the pressure of events, for they urged that the Earl of Desmond and Sir John should be released.

On September 1 Perrot reported that Fitzmaurice and the Earl's (*i.e.* Clanricarde's) son John, with Scots and rebels to the number of 1000, were upon the borders of the Shannon, and had killed William Lacey, Sheriff of Limerick (one of the captains who had previously attacked Fitzmaurice at the river Mulkeare), and 30 of his men. Perrot proposed to march against the raiders.

On September 12 Perrot was in camp near "Emelie" (Emly), from which he wrote an account of a skirmish with Fitzmaurice and announced his intention of following the latter into Aherlow.

He tried to do so, but his soldiers mutinied, and he returned to Kilmallock.

All the transactions of this time are described in two interesting letters of his. A certain note of querulousness and anxiety is perceptible in these documents, strangely inconsistent with Perrot's subsequent triumphal attitude. Apart from complaints, explanations and demands for food supplies, reinforcements, and ammunition, we may gather that Perrot had about 1500 men against

Fitzmaurice's " not past 600 " at this time, and that he constantly sought to bring his opponent to an engagement which the latter skilfully avoided, meantime harassing Perrot by sudden onslaught on any detached portion of his forces which could be found. The letters are also interesting as showing that " Kilhoogge " was in the neighbourhood of Pallasgrean.[1]

ONE OF PERROT'S LETTERS, 1572

From *State Papers, Ireland.* Elizabeth, Vol. 37, Nos. 59 (IV.) and 59 (V.)

(*To the Lord Deputy*)

No. 59 (IV.). Enclosure

" Having assembled the force of some of the Lords of this Province, and the 2 bands of English footmen, I met with the rebel James Fitzmaurice, and his number of Scots yesterday in McBrien O'Goonagh's country where I found them and him in a plain betwixt two woods at the mouth of a pass

[1] In *Dineley's Journal* there is a probable reference to the same fastness when he describes the taking of " the Castle of Ballytrarsna, Murrough Keogh's place, who was one of the Brians". This was "situate near a great security in a very commodious passage between the City of Limerick and Archbishopric of Cashel, and a considerable post to hinder the rebels from coming out of Kilquige into Connelloe ". There is a place called Ballytrarsna in, or adjacent to, Coologe near Pallasgrean. Perrot says the Murrough Keogh of his time owned Castle " Garre " (Castlegarde).

where not past two men could pass in rank, and I found his number no such multitude as was bruited " (reported) " being in all not past 600 men. The rebels were ready waiting for me and to encourage the Irish Lords the more, I went afoot and caused them to accompany me, so as the charge being given first with shot, they withstood it and offered to enter upon us, but another volley of shot being discharged and five or six of them slain (whereof it is said that one of them was a Captain of the Scots) they retired and fled, whereupon I with the Company followed on foot all the day after till night came, at which time we went to camp, but the rebels passed so fast before among the woods (being I think as strong a fastness as is any in Ireland) as we prevailed no further against them at that time.

" And now he and his Company being come into Aherlow, I am here within . . . miles of it ready to-morrow, God willing, to enter therein, and to deal with him if he abide, for I find the matter to be presently followed and the Scots to be banished or else this country will grow very evil inasmuch as the traitor expecteth daily the coming to him of a great force from Connaught who are reported to be at the Shannon side, ready to come over.

" Wherefore I wish for the more speedy execution of this service, that some force of Englishmen might be sent out of the English Pale hither, or at the least the Company I have here appointed to remain, and some provision of corn, butter and cheese to be made for them, otherwise if they be

not maintained or this stir quenched, I will not undertake the government of this country, for although I have the Lords and their men with me, yet are they unready to give advice for the service. And I find many of them (except it be the Earl of Clancarr and Cormack McTeigue) very cold in doing their parts when it cometh to the deed. I find also the people very ready to invent and further vain bruits " (reports) " which is one chief occasion whereby the rebellion is upholden.

" And if Your Lordship look that upon the revenues by me received, or the overplus of the impost more than to me and this state is belonging, to be allowed come to my hands I should disburse for provision for the soldiers, surely, my Lord, I have not received of the Revenues hitherto above £10, this country being in case not able to answer it, and that which is surest, being the Earl of Ormond, paid into the Exchequer of Dublin. And for the money grown from the impost, I have not as yet received any such overplus but that it shall appear to Your Lordship by good accounts and reasonable demands for disbursements that I have issued above £1000 more than my receipts, and yet I trust your Lordship shall find that I have gone as near to work as could be.

" My Lord, it behoveth your Lordship to have consideration of the state of this realm presently, now Ulster is unquiet, Connaught in utter rebellion, and this Province in expectation to become so likewise. And all this cometh (as far as I can perceive) by the discharge of the soldiers, wherefore I would wish that your Lordship should write

thereof unto Her Majesty, as ere this I writ unto your Lordship to do, that such discharge be not made before this be more in ripeness, otherwise it will be a greater charge to Her Majesty than now it will be.

"My Lord I am so troubled both in body and mind as I cannot write at large, wherefore I refer the particular declaration of this service unto this bearer, Apsley, whom I stayed to see the end of this stir if it had so chanced, and who very painfully and honestly did his endeavour, going on foot in company of the soldiers and so in haste I commit your Lordship to God.

"From the camp near Emly this 12 of September 1572.

"Your Lordship's most assured

"J. PERROT.

"My good Lord I am amazed with watch trouble and to see that all men are not willing to do their best."

PERROT'S SECOND LETTER

State Papers, Ireland, No. 59 (V.). Enclosure.

"And for discharge of the footbands &c. I have written and will write over unto Her Majesty's Council how unnecessary it is to casse" (disband) "them, for as the case goeth it were more reason that there should be five or six bands more sent over, and surely if I be not deceived Her Majesty shall be fain to send so many over ere it be long, for there is (as I guess) some secret device by general consent of the Irishry (if it may be brought to pass)

to make stirs in every place of this Realm as I do not know many places that is quiet at this time. But I trust through Your Lordship's good means when Your Lordship shall advertise Her Highness of the state of the Realm, other order will be taken for the confusion of those naughty persons. It were good Your Lordship would take the first occasion and to write thereof lest delay do breed danger. I will not write anything to Your Lordship of my opinion touching your suit unto Her Majesty lest my letter should miscarry. Neither what I think of Your Lordship's favour showed to my Lord Poer until I shall see Your Lordship, which I desire may be with all expedition, for it is very necessary for the good of Her Majesty's service, that conference may be between us, and if I may have five or six days' warning, I will meet your Lordship where you will appoint.

" As to your letter of the second of this month, I do not look for any good that the Earls of Clanricarde, or Thomond, or the O'Briens will do against the Scots, for if they had meant to annoy them they would have done it when they were in Connaught. And for Your Lordship's and the Council's letters written to Mr. Sheathe, I do understand that Sir Edmond and Edward Butler are this day at Cashel in a readiness with their men as by their several letters they have advertised me, whom I have required to follow the traitor in Aherlow, unto which place I have driven him, and, as they shall do service, I will certify unto Your Lordship of their doings. The Scots are nothing so many as both by letters I was advertised and they

were generally named to be, for I cannot find that there is yet with James above 500 or 600 footmen of all sorts and twenty horsemen. But (as it is reported) within this three days the Earl of Clanricarde's sons will come unto him with a great number of men. Surely my Lord they are so ready here to report of the greatness of the number of the traitor, and are so willing that he should be great, as when I came within a half a mile of him and his Company, the certainest news that I could get was that he had 1400 or 1500 men with him. He did lie in a place called Kilhoogge in the county of Limerick, the strongest fastness in all this Province being not past 7 miles from Aherlow, Cappacullen and Castlegarie, in the which he had put ward" (guard) "and had burned one other castle . . . so that I was enforced to go from thence towards those castles, and to seek him in his fastness, and lying in the woods the first night I won two of them" (the castles) "again, whereof the one of them belonging to a traitor I burned, and the other delivered back to the owner which he doth ward. And for that the waters were so high, as I could not pass with carriage directly from my first camping-place to the Traitor where he lay (though he were within three miles) I was driven to go back again round about the woods and so encamped near Balleintee [1] the second night.

[1] Ballyneety apparently—the reference to this place and Cappacullen and Castlegarde (Castlegarie) as well as the situation between Limerick and Cashel show that this Kilhoogge was not the Kilcuaig in the Great Wood south of Kilmallock. The "waters" were doubtless Mulcaire

" The next morning word was brought unto me by McBrien Ogonoughe [1] that James had sworn to fight with me and my company near Castlegarre " (now Castlegarde) " which being a strong castle he had gotten before, and whither I was going to win it again, and forasmuch as no horses could pass that way being a great fastness of wood and bog and diver straights to it so narrow as not past two could go in a rank, I was enforced (the rather to encourage the Lords and Company of Irishmen that were there) to go on foot, and so going through sundry passes at length coming near to Castlegarre at the mouth of a pass which they had plashed [2] through which no more than two men could go together, James Fitzmaurice with 140 of his men stood ready and bestowed his shot and spears upon our shot, his Scots Gallowglasses standing on his left hand and our shot thereupon breaking out upon them slew there five or six presently (whereof one was a captain of their Gallowglasses of the Clan-Donnells) and as I have heard since, there was twenty-three or twenty-four hurt besides, so as they ran away.[3] Then I went

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floods. That troublesome river often floods its neighbouring lowlands.

[1] This chieftain must have gone over temporarily to the Government side. The O'Briens or McBriens of Coonagh were usually staunch Desmond men.

[2] That is, fortified or defended, probably with felled trees or woven branches.

[3] This is evidently the affair described in the previous letter. It is now located at Castlegarde near Pallasgrean, far from Kilmallock and the Great Wood.

unto the Castle which was left open by the ward and delivered it to the keeping of a gentleman called Murrough Keogh, from whence having with me about 1200 or 1300 footmen besides six or seven score horses which I sent back to the plain to Ballyneety, seeing where their horsemen and footmen did fly, I followed all the day on foot through such bogs, woods and waters as I have not seen since my coming into Ireland, as Mr. Apsley can tell Your Lordship who was there all the time and was in company of Mr. Bourchier at the first charge.[1]

"And that night (after our travel all the day in pursuing the Rebels who still fled before us) I was fain to lie in the woods, and James having some spial where I had left our carriage at Ballenitee" (Ballyneety) "and appointed the Lord Roche and Sir Tibbot Butler with the horsemen to have charge of the said carriage, came thither by night and finding certain garrans and other carriage without the bawn, contrary to mine appointment, and certain horsemen asleep, took a few garrans, killed one horseman of Taribrie with one boy, and took their horses to the number of 26

[1] Making the fullest allowance for clearing of woods and restraint of floodings in modern times, still Perrot's description seems exaggerated. There are few bogs in the district and the country is fairly level. But the tone of these letters is distinctly apologetic. Perrot had about 1500 men against Fitzmaurice's 140, and the larger force was incomparably better armed and disciplined. Yet he effected nothing, and his troops were demoralised, as we shall soon see.

or 28 which was their own default being thereof forewarned.[1]

" The Lord Roche with the rest of the horsemen being, contrary to my direction, 3 miles off at an Abbey whilst this was in doing, whereby it was carried almost to Aherlow before he came in to make any rescue, and then following only with horsemen, overtook the traitors but could not prevail on them, so that having his horse wounded to death with a Scot's arrow and three other horses of the Company hurt also with arrows, he returned. And I hearing thereof followed presently to Aherlow, where on Saturday last I entered with 800 or 900 footmen (having sent" (away) "some 300 or 400 because we wanted victuals two days before) and appointed 60 or 80 horsemen to abide on the hill in the plain, to charge on the Rebels if they had fled that way out of the woods, but after I had gone with the Company through the woods on foot the most part of the day seeking for the traitors, we could not overtake any of them, they fled so fast before us and hid themselves, neither would they bestow either shot or spear upon us, whereupon we returned, and the lords wanting victuals for their men, and the soldiers victuals also, spent two days before I came back hither from whence I have sent the lords (saving the Earl of Clancarr and the Baron of Lixnaw).[2] McCarthy Reagh, SirThomas

[1] Perrot is not above laying the blame on his subordinates for the success of this little raid of Fitzmaurice, which anticipated Sarsfield's famous raid, probably over the same ground, a century or so later.

[2] Of the other, or Kerry Fitzmaurices.

of Desmond,[1] Sir Tibbot Butler, the Lord Poer, Cormac McTeigue,[2] McDonough,[3] and divers other gentlemen the most part whereof went on foot with me in the woods. And if the Butlers do their parts I trust your Lordship shall not need to travel yourself with any army, but I would fain have 200 English footmen and 40 horsemen victualled for six weeks to lie at Clonmel or Cashel till I should further appoint them for their service, for here is no victuals left and the soldiers have had no corn this great while, but out of mine own store which is almost spent, and I shall not have (enough) to serve them 20 days.

" Wherefore I earnestly pray Your Lordship 11,000 pecks of malt and wheat may be sent from thence with all speed hither, otherwise I shall be forced to send away the soldiers that be here, for there is no corn to be had in all the country.[4] It is so poor that I fear numbers will starve before the winter be ended. And when the soldiers be gone, and the enemy master of the field, Your Lordship may guess what will come of it. I cannot but write to Your Lordship hereof in discharge of my duty, for truly my Lord it is to be looked unto.

" And for the victualler, I would wish he had commandment from your Lordship to continue

[1] Our old friend, Thomas Ruadh.

[2] McCarthy of Muskerry

[3] McCarthy of Duhallow.

[4] There was a pleasant English custom of destroying the growing corn in hostile country. It had inconveniences for themselves at times, as we may see.

his office as one who cannot be spared so long as those matters be in hand, and that he may have some money sent him to make provision of necessaries that I be not driven still to lay out all that I have, and he, by commission, to take up men's goods and so they made to refrain (from) trafficking in to any haven in this Province to the hurt both of the service and also of the inhabitants of the cities and towns therein, who make their most provision of housekeeping from England, and so is the case now as none doth come in with any corn.

" I also pray Your Lordship that some store of lead and match may be sent presently hither, for that which was sent is all spent, and now am I driven to buy oakum and thread as it may be had, here and there a pound, to make match to serve the present need, which will not last past five days. I was in very good hope before the entry of these foreigners " (the Scots) " to have this Province in good state, as I wrote unto Your Lordship hereuntofore, but sith they are come, I cannot but demand aid from Your Lordship, and although I have now the help of the Lords, yet if these Rebels be not quickly banished, the charge of their attending on me with their men in the service will be so chargeable to their country as it will make them weary.[1]

" And so praying Your Lordship that I may be supplied of such things as I have written for, I

[1] Some of them were looking for repayment a very long time afterwards.

take my leave of Your Lordship, praying God to send you increase of honour and happy success in all your affairs.

"From Kilmallock this 16 of September 1572.

"Your L. most assuredly ever,

"J. PERROT."

The dates of these letters are worth noting in the light of after events. They are by no means the outpourings of a victorious commander triumphant throughout the Province. Nor is there anything in the record to justify Perrot's self-glorification when Fitzmaurice submitted.

On October 4 the Lord Deputy wrote to Burghley: "the rebel and his Scots still keep the woods in Munster."

On October 26 Edward Butler wrote to his brother Sir Edmond, informing him that the Earl of Clanricarde's sons with 1200 men were coming from across the Shannon to aid James Fitzmaurice. He exhorted resistance at the river-crossing. Whereupon Sir Edmond summoned forces from Kilkenny for the purpose.

On November 2 Perrot reported that there was a mutiny of his soldiers as he was going to attack the rebel in Aherlow and that they had returned to Kilmallock. This was strange conduct on the part of victorious troops.

More curious still, we are told that "James Fitzmaurice has made means to submit"—that is, had opened negotiations for the purpose. But presumably, just to show that he can give trouble if needs be, he has "since spoiled Sir Theobald

Butler". This is probably Perrot's friend, Sir Tibbot Butler.

On December 1 we are told that the Butlers had attacked Fitzmaurice and killed 100 of his Scots "at one clap". Edmond Butler had written that Fitzmaurice had 600 able men, but we may remember that Perrot found him face to face with only 140 in all with him at the time.

On December 7 a further letter tells us that though the Scots are all gone from Munster James's rebellion "holdeth up head".

But Andrew Skiddy wrote to Perrot describing "Mr. Bourchier's conference with James Fitzmaurice on December 8 at Duntrileague" (near Galbally). "His humble submission, lighting from his horse and kneeling upon both his knees in the mire, crying God and Her Majesty's mercy."

This is very curious. Especially as Fitzmaurice was not at once arrested and hanged. That would have been quite in accord with the usual custom, but very likely he did not trust himself to the English without good pledges. Other entries may throw light on the matter, which was clearly an arranged meeting.

Four days previously (December 4) a very significant declaration was made by Martin Frobisher (such famous names do we encounter at every turn in the records of these wars). Frobisher reported that the imprisoned Earl of Desmond had employed him to provide a bark to convey him away.

Whatever underlay this tricky business, it was

soon overshadowed by developments in a new direction. It was, however, strange employment for the great seaman. But, stranger still, he adds: "The Earl of Ormond had made friends and dined with the Earl of Desmond."

PEACE—FOR A TIME

The English negotiations had results. On January 3, 1573, there is a Note of the Articles to be observed by the Earl of Desmond. He is to observe his oath of homage. To keep the Queen's peace. To be answerable to law. He shall not levy nor keep together a number of people. He shall suffer the noblemen and gentlemen of English or Irish blood to live upon the Queen's peace. He shall suppress James Fitzmaurice. The Earls of Ormond and Desmond, now made friends, will refer their controversies for Kilfeakle, Kilsheelan, etc., to the decision of the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland.

We have seen these controversies decided years ago in Ormond's favour. Why are they re-opened now? It is clear that these articles are the result of negotiation. It is extremely improbable that Ormond should have dined with Desmond, and made friends with him, under the observation of Martin Frobisher, the Queen's trusted sea-captain, and arranged the articles to which he was to agree, unless the whole thing had been done with the consent, and indeed at the instance, of the Court. Desmond's release was implied. He could not well fulfil the conditions laid down

unless he were at liberty in Ireland. It is very noticeable that there is not a single word in the articles concerning the Queen's supremacy in religious matters. Evidently Desmond would yield nothing on this point.

Now it is not unreasonable to assume that Fitzmaurice was kept aware of the trend of events in England. Indeed it is only too probable that Desmond and his brother owed not merely their lordships and estates, but their very lives to Fitzmaurice's gallant stand and the Queen's necessities. For there were disturbances all over Ireland at the time, and the demands on the royal purse grew constantly heavier.

On January 21 the Queen informed the Lord Deputy that she had ordered that the Earl of Desmond and his brother John should repair into Ireland under the charge of Sir Edward Fitton.

Perrot, however, now that Fitzmaurice was inclined to submit, took up a more arrogant attitude. He wrote to Secretary Smith that he meant not "to rule by entreaty". He thought that it would be more expedient to "hunt him out", alluding to Fitzmaurice.

This was only a final splutter of wrath, however, as Perrot entered into the peace arrangements whole-heartedly afterwards. He first consoled himself by one piece of extraordinary display, however. On February 23 we have a note of "the humble submission of James Fitzmaurice of Desmond; the seneschal of Imokilly [1] and others

[1] A notable soldier now and hereafter, chief of a minor Geraldine branch and James's best and trustiest lieutenant.

his associates, before Sir J. Perrot, Lord President of Munster". This was at Kilmallock. Fitzmaurice stated that he was allured by the company of the Earl of Clancarr and Sir Edmond Butler. These were the two principal leaders who had not only deserted him and made their peace previously, but who had even taken the field against their former ally.

Perrot was not to be disappointed of the full pageantry of his triumph. He held his sword to the breast of the kneeling (one account even says the prostrate) Fitzmaurice. One would like to know how he was clad, or if he wore the famous scarlet suit, on the occasion.

The whole affair would seem rather unintelligible if we were to assume, on the authority of the English historians, that Fitzmaurice's submission was unconditional.

For years he had defied the whole English power mustered against him in Munster. He had suffered no decisive defeat, nor indeed any serious one, unless the taking of Castlemaine be counted as such. He had, on the other hand, inflicted considerable losses on his enemies, and demonstrated that they could not drive him from his wooded stronghold in Aherlow glen, and then he walks out of the wood near Duntrileague and kneels at the feet of the casually-passing Mr. Bourchier. On his surrender he ought, in accordance with the usual custom, to have been hanged, or at the very least sent to the Tower of London. But he was let off scot free.

O'Sullivan's explanation is the more likely one,

and it is borne out by the record of the meeting between Ormond and Desmond in England. He states that the release of the Earl was the result of an agreement, and the Four Masters confirm him on this point. He gives its terms as the restoration of the Earl and Sir John to their former state, having been released from their prison, and immunity for Fitzmaurice himself.[1]

MacGeoghegan adds that the persecution of the Catholics of the province was to cease.

In such case Fitzmaurice had achieved all that he went out to fight for. He probably did not shrink from a trifle of mud on his hose, nor even from lending himself to Perrot's final display of triumph, knowing that these things were intended to impress other potential rebels, according to the custom of the time. He had defeated, according to O'Sullivan, the royal forces at Kilmallock, at Shanid mound. At " Killchuigi " wood and elsewhere he had fought with success against them. At the church of Cluon he had slain the leader, Morgan, and destroyed his force. It is vastly more probable, when all the circumstances are considered, that his surrender was the result of negotiation, rather than that he, suddenly and inexplicably, laid down his arms and was straightway pardoned. That was not Elizabeth's way with her opponents.[2]

[1] " Neque incepto destitit donec patrueles comes et Johannes, carcere dimissi, in pristinum statum fuerint restituti et ipse impunitatem pactus."

[2] Russell, too, confirms this view. He says (*Relation of the Geraldines*): " James Fitzmaurice being so received and

Thus this sturdy defender of a cause that seemed lost, who had adhered to it when others had abandoned it in despair, won out by sheer courage and tenacity—for a time, at any rate.

DEPARTURE OF PERROT—ESCAPE OF THE EARL

A study of the authentic records of the time of Elizabeth and her successor produces large disillusionment. To one who gets his ideas from general literature those were spacious days indeed. They were adorned by the genius of Shakespere, Spenser and Bacon, and a host of lesser literary lights. The deeds of bold warriors by sea and land lack no chroniclers who sing their praises and their victories until their figures grow gigantic, as if seen through some fairy mist. But the light of these records dispels the mist, and the giant figures shrink into smallness and often into meanness. In Ireland, at least, it is no record of heroism. Rather is it marked by cruelty, rapine, greed, and treachery; by pledges broken, and legalised plunder and slaughter.

This alone makes Fitzmaurice an outstanding figure of his time. To him can none of these charges be laid. He fought a losing cause like a

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pardoned, alleged for colour of his actions that what he did or intended to do was to hasten the Earl's enlargement out of England. And now the said Earl being quietly established in full seisin and possession of all his lands, he had accomplished his ends."

soldier to the last, staking everything upon the fight, and though he lost all he lost splendidly.

And he went much nearer than we are apt to think now to winning out and changing the history of Europe.

His submission was genuine enough, and he would probably have settled down to a peaceful life in Desmond, if only the conditions had been kept. For we find Perrot writing to Burghley on April 12 that he thinks Fitzmaurice will become a second St. Paul.

But the English Government had scarcely consented to the release of the Geraldine chiefs when they regretted their decision. The Earl and Sir John were sent over to Dublin in charge of Sir Edward Fitton. Sir John was released, but the Earl was re-arrested on his arrival in Dublin—on secret instructions from the Queen herself, say the Irish historians. And indeed he would be a bold man who would undertake such an arrest without her authority.

On May 18 the Earl wrote to the Privy Council in England informing them that new charges had been laid against him by the Council in Ireland. On the same date there is a note of things from which the Earl of Desmond is to be restrained. He was not to pay any gallowglasses, bonnaught beg or bonnaught bowe.[1] He was not to use coin or livery, cuddy, or other Irish impositions; no kernety; no guns greater than caliver (a small

[1] These latter were really the names of taxes levied for the maintenance of light soldiery, but seem to be used here to mean the soldiers themselves.

musket); he was to keep no parliaments upon the hills; no Brehon law, no canes; he was to take no erics or recompenses for murder; he was to cause the people to know God, and to swear by nothing but Him; he was not to give comerick to any that offended against the Queen's laws. There was to be no "black rent", and a book of his men was to be kept.[1]

The Earl was to give up all these privileges, which were certainly oppressive on his liegemen, as well as certain old Irish customs. The references to "parliaments on the hills" and the Brehon laws show how Irish the Desmonds had become. Much of their power would vanish with these old customs. Accordingly, May 25—the Earl refused to forbear his "coin" and Irish exactions. Sir John, however, undertook not to suffer the Brehon law, not to take eric, not to give comerick, and not to keep any bard, harrogh,[2] or rhymer.

June 18—Perrot has caused all the Irish to forgo their "glybbes", and has banished all the

[1] Coin and livery meant free quarters for horse and man, and money besides. "Cuddy" is a supper or entertainment for a night, or its equivalent in honey, aquavitae, or money. "Kernety" probably meant a levy for the raising or maintenance of a force of kern. "Comerick" meant shelter and aid to any one in need of such, as in the case of outlaws. Black rent was a tribute levied principally on towns, and securing for them indemnity from attack.

[2] "Harroghe" is the same as "Carroghe". The Carroghes were professional card-players who travelled about the country, and were suspected of carrying intelligence, as the bards and poets were also.

"great rolls" from the wearing of ladies. Perrot wrote humorously himself that he was told that this order would prevent his ever getting a wife in Ireland.

Peace settled down upon the land, and would evidently have lasted a long time if the English had only released the Earl in accordance with their agreement, and had not set up machinery for levying fines and taxes.

On July 2 Perrot wrote to Burghley that he "knows not one evil man at present in rebellion, or two picking thieves within his province."

He hoped to see Burghley soon, and intended to bring Fitzmaurice with him.

At this stage Perrot went to England. We may, perhaps, here trace his subsequent career.

When Fitzmaurice threatened a landing of Spaniards, he was placed in command of a fleet to cruise off the Irish coast. It consisted of six vessels. He went on board at Greenwich attended by "fiftie men in orange and tawny cloakes". He had also with him musicians, and services of plate, and "all things else suitable".

In 1583 he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and in that capacity opened the parliament which passed the Act of Attainder against the Desmonds. We are told that he was by far the best-dressed man present on that occasion. But he was not content with merely overshadowing others by the splendour of his attire. He also compelled all who attended this parliament to wear English costume, to the disgust and dismay of some of the Irish chieftains. One of the latter is recorded to

have begged a chaplain to accompany him through the streets to check the mockery which he feared from the everlasting irreverence of small boys when they saw him in the dress to which he was so unaccustomed.[1] Though we may smile at Perrot's regard for brave attire, he is about the only Elizabethan Governor of Ireland whose career it is possible to contemplate with any element of satisfaction. He was neither grasping nor wantonly cruel. It is an unhappy fact that this marks him out from the swarm of officials who came to Ireland as adventurers to make or mend their fortunes during Elizabeth's reign.

Perrot was disliked by these,[2] as his honesty was a reproach to them and an obstacle to their designs. He was ultimately accused, by some backstairs report, of permitting himself to speak coarsely and deprecatingly of the Queen, whilst Lord Deputy. With Elizabeth this was worse than sitting on an open cask of gunpowder and lighting matches. He was imprisoned and attainted, and his possessions confiscated (1592). He was even sentenced to death, and, though reprieved, is said to have died of anger in his prison.

[1] If we imagine a bare-kneed and bare-headed Irish piper of to-day being ordered to change into a costume rather resembling that worn by acrobats, and donning over it a doublet or jacket with a ruff, and a very short cloak, with a plumed cap, we shall have some dim idea of the effects of Perrot's revolutionary tailoring proposals and the consternation excited by them.

[2] Spenser says: "he did tread down and disgrace all the English, and set up and countenance the Irish all he could" (*View of Ireland*, p. 174, 1809 edition).

His son, however, was restored to his property and rights. His friendship with Fitzmaurice shows that he knew a man when he met one. He was a gallant if impulsive soldier, and the English control of Ireland would have met with fewer difficulties if there had been many governors like him.

MacGeoghegan alleges that Sir John of Desmond was released and sent to Munster to induce Fitzmaurice to come with him to Dublin to sign the peace-terms, but that the secret intention was to have the three Desmond leaders beheaded together. This, however, is not confirmed by the *State Papers*. All three were in the hands of the English when Fitzmaurice submitted at Kilmallock, though it is more than likely that he only came in on very solid security. All the facts point to the conclusion that the settlement was made in England originally, that Fitzmaurice submitted in consequence, and that the English Government then began to think that they had perhaps acted too hastily and sought to extract further safeguards from the Earl. All this would be characteristic of the tortuous policy of the times. Even Perrot seems to have been responsible to some extent for the continued detention of the Earl. He wrote from Cashel on April 9 referring to his former opinion that the latter should "for a time remain in safe-keeping; the rebels of the wood (of Arlagh) had made earnest means to submit, but on hearing of the Earl's enlargement excused themselves" (*C.S.P.*).

Again, on July 13, he wrote marvelling that

"Her Majesty would send over the Earl of Desmond, a man rather meet to keep Bedlam than to come to a new reformed country". He also wished Desmond to be sent back to England.

The Earl being detained in prison sent letter after letter to the Queen and the English Council asking for his release. Fitzmaurice down in Munster had some quarrel with the Sheriff of Limerick, and another with Edward Butler. This young spark had been writing love-letters to his wife. James began to gather his men to defend himself, as the Sheriff insisted that he had rendered the protection given to him of no effect.

At last, in November, the Earl, finding his remonstrances unavailing, succeeded in escaping from Dublin.

Travelling rapidly to his own country, his few companions soon grew to hundreds. He was conveyed through Kildare by Rory Oge O'More and Piers Grace. He was received in Leix by 400 of the O'Mores, evidently not quite conquered by Philip and Mary. The rest of his journey was a triumphal progress. He met Fitzmaurice in Limerick, and within a month he had expelled the English forces from most of the fortresses and chief towns in Munster. In December it was reported that he had taken Castlemaine "by treason", and imprisoned the English guard. Fitzmaurice crossed the Shannon from Thomond, bringing with him 200 fighting men, and came to the neighbourhood of Kilmallock, taking a prey there.

On December 12 Sir Edward Butler had a

conference with the Earl at Athassel, and reproached him for his action, even refusing meat to his gallowglasses. The Earl put guards into Kilfeakle, Ballythomas, and other castles.

At this time the Earl of Essex was fighting in the north and had drawn most of the English troops to him, so that there was little force available to send against Desmond.

Reports came pouring into the Council of Dublin, true or false. Skiddy—once a Desmond man, now very loyal in Government employ—wrote that Desmond had taken the castles of Kerry and Ballymartyr, and asked that Her Majesty should not suffer her regal authority to be set at naught by licentious liberty.

Nicholas Walsh reported the taking of Castlemaine, and added that Desmond kept John Herbert's brothers and others of the guard prisoners.

Of course the Earl was merely taking back his own castles.

Thomas Ruadh was "spoiled", and his wife and son taken prisoners, and all the Queen's men in Munster were naturally shivering in their shoes.

The Council did not well know what to do. They wrote to England that they used the Earl mildly until they should have a sufficient force. They asked for Perrot, with men, money, and a victualler.

Meantime Desmond had written to them complaining that he had no favour or liberty shown to him. He, too, was unwilling to have open war

if it could be avoided. He had seen enough of prison interiors.

So there was no open strife, even though the Council were informed that the Earl and his Countess had worn Irish raiment at Lough Gur Castle and had made a proclamation. Desmond was only anxious to secure his rights and possessions, and the Government shrank from a renewal of the costly struggle.

With both parties in such a mood agreement was soon patched up on the surrender of two or three castles by the Earl.

On July 10 Ormond wrote that Sir John of Desmond and James Fitzmaurice offered to serve the Queen. Ormond desired to receive them, but the offer was not accepted.

Russell [1] says that at this time Fitzmaurice asked Earl Gerald for some portion of land to live upon and thereafter quietly maintain his estate. The Earl, who knew his indebtedness, would have been willing to make this gift. Indeed there is extant a kind of grant of the castles of "Glanycorybry, Tarybery and Carrighfoyle for the time Kerry Kurrihy shall remain in mortgage". Russell states that the Earl's second wife, Countess Eleanor, dissuaded him, being unwilling to lessen the estate of her young son.

If that be true, rarely has there been an instance of more unnecessary or more mistaken solicitude. For her son for whom she was so provident never possessed an acre of the Desmond estates, whilst she herself, after undergoing incredible hardships

[1] *Relation of the Geraldines.*

and suffering, accepted a pension of £100 (some accounts say £200) awarded to her by the bounty of the Queen.[1]

Russell says that, being offended by this refusal, Fitzmaurice consulted his friends with regard to his grievances, and they (the White Knight, the Seneschal of Imokilly, and McPhilip Roche of Kinsale) advised him to try to persuade foreign princes and potentates to aid him in his quarrel, whereupon they all left the kingdom and went to France.

The action of the Government towards the Earl, indeed, seems to have opened Fitzmaurice's eyes to the real situation. As subsequent events show he went to France, not to secure aid for any private quarrel of his own, but to organise opposition to the English designs of confiscation and subjection in Ireland. He was by far the most clear-sighted statesman amongst the Geraldines, though indeed it did not require much statesmanship to see that the latter could keep of their property and religion only what they could defend by the sword.

The *State Papers* tell us that he raided Waterford early in 1574, "in a most lamentable manner", according to the mayor of that city. He wound up there by demanding, and probably getting, "cess" for 900 axes (gallowglasses presumably) and 30 horsemen for four days. We

[1] She married twice after Desmond's death. Her third husband was O'Connor of Sligo, who, as an enemy of the Earl of Tyrone, was popular in Government circles, and was knighted. This marriage enabled her to end her days in comparative comfort.

have, too, about this time a story gravely reported of a Scotchman who changed his attire to Irish after a conference with Fitzmaurice.

Barnaby Daly of Carrigaline reports the making of ladders in Drumfinghin woods. Thinks that Carrigaline (in Kerrycurrihy) is threatened.

In July, Ormond conveys the offer of Fitzmaurice and Sir John of Desmond to serve the Queen, as above described. This offer being ignored, on March 20 of the next year (1575) Fitzmaurice informs Ormond that he is going abroad for his health and requests his intervention to secure the Queen's favour. He begs consideration for his servants left in " Haherlaghe " (Aherlow) and the subjects of Onaght.

The Queen thanked Ormond for reporting this promptly, and added :

" We pray you still to have an eye to the behaviour of the Earl of Desmond, who cannot be thought altogether ignorant of their (Fitzmaurice and the White Knight) counsels and designs."

It was in the spring of 1575 that James with his wife and two young sons went to France. A modern historian says " no higher tribute could be paid to the character of that heroic man than the closeness with which all his movements were watched by the English spies set upon his track. They followed him to the French Court, to St. Malo's (where he resided for some time with his family), to Madrid, whence he sent his two sons to the famous University of Alcala, and from Madrid to Rome." [1]

[1] D'Arcy McGee's *History of Ireland.*

May 25, 1575.—George Thornton's declaration of the proceedings of James Fitzmaurice and his companions is sent from Dublin. The French king will send 4000 men with James Fitzmaurice into Ireland during the pretended siege of Rochelle.

It is difficult, when relying on the works of English writers of the time, to avoid acquiring an impression that the manners and customs of the Irish and Anglo-Irish were tinged with some barbarism or savagery. That such a notion arose largely from too narrow an adherence to English standards the following records tend to show, at any rate as far as the Geraldines were concerned; for we find that Fitzmaurice was well received and treated at the proudest courts of Europe, and that he achieved a considerable measure of success in his negotiations, surrounded as he was by spies, and hampered by the fine-spun webs of the able Elizabethan diplomatists.[1]

For some years he worked and negotiated to secure the aid of foreign kings and princes in his enterprise, now turning from France to Spain, and from both to Rome.

The following records from the *Calendar of State Papers* relate to this period.

July 7, 1575.—Ormond writes Burghley that James Fitzmaurice's messenger is laid for.

August 16.—Desmond will not suffer Her Highness's Sheriff to serve process, nor her writs to be current, nor her laws to be executed in the more part of his lands.

[1] Many of the native Irish were well received and treated at the Court of Spain at various times.

July 20, 1575.—A letter of Henry III., King of France, to Queen Elizabeth is sent as an enclosure.

Intercession for favour to James Fitzmaurice of Desmond.

In 1576 Drury was appointed President of Munster. His treatment of the people there hastened subsequent developments.

One of his exploits in a visit to Limerick in 1577[1] was to behead the chieftains and rebels of the districts adjoining. Amongst them was "Murrough the son of Murtough, son of Mahon, son of Donough, son of Brian Dubh O'Brien, the most renowned and noble of the heirs of Carrig-o-Gunnell and Aherlow". He was probably a devoted supporter of Desmond, like all his people.

February 1, 1577.—Walsingham wrote to the Lord Deputy that there was secret intelligence of foreign practice to disturb the quiet of Ireland by James Fitzmaurice and other ill members of the realm.

April 14.—James Fitzmaurice has gone to the Pope to get his benediction and aid. After his return he will, with a body of French soldiers under M. de la Roche and M. Daukin and his brother, invade Munster. James will visit the kings of Spain and Portugal who will give him of their treasures.

April.—Intelligence from France. James Fitzmaurice has been entertained in Rome. He is sure of 1200 French under de la Roche, and six tall ships.

[1] *Four Masters.*

May 5.—President Drury to Walsingham—News from Spain of 50 sail, three "armathoes" and three shallops prepared to come to the West of Munster with store of powder and weapons.

From the *Carew MSS.* we learn (June 9) that the Queen has ordered a levy of 2000 English to meet Fitzmaurice, 60 shot and 40 armed men with corslets, *i.e.* 40 calivers, 20 bows, 20 pikes, 20 bills per 100 men. The *Lion* (500 tons), *Dreadnought* (400), and *Swiftsure* (360) are sent to guard the west coast, the *Handmaid* to join later.

All these reports of spies were untrue as to the moment, though well founded in general.

English diplomacy succeeded in baffling Fitzmaurice in France. On May 2 there is a deposition by James Sellenger relating Fitzmaurice's preparations. He mentions a report of the French king's offence that de la Roche should levy an army without his licence, and his command that all men and shipping should be discharged.

In 1578 there is an undated report of James Fitzmaurice's instructions, with an advice of the number of soldiers, money, and ships, proportion of munition, armour, and other necessaries to be provided by the Pope and King of Spain, with a condition that if he can drive the heretics out of Ireland they will maintain him against the Queen of England.

Fitzmaurice evidently means to have no more fighting of gallowglasses with axes, or kern with their light bows, against disciplined English troops of whom 40 per cent now had firearms.

February 20, 1579, from Lisbon.—Patrick Lom-

bard to his wife. Three great ships of 130 tons apiece with 80 great pieces, 30 calivers, and 600 men ready to join with James Fitzmaurice with the first wind and then proceed directly to Ireland. To inform the Mayor of Waterford hereof, but very secretly.

March 23, 1579.—Declaration of James Fagan and Leonard Sutton, merchants. James Fitzmaurice with 7 shallops in Biscay. The Pope bears all the charges.

April 22, 1579.—Examination of Dominick Creaghe. James Fitzmaurice is at Alaredo (Laredo) in Biscay. He has 300 soldiers paid two months in advance. His meaning is to land at the quay of Limerick. His store of 6000 calivers and a mass of pickaxes, shovels, and tools.

What had really happened was that Fitzmaurice, baffled by English diplomacy in France and failing to secure assistance there, went on to Rome. He persuaded the Pope to give him about 1000 soldiers, whom he placed under the command of Thomas Stukeley. Stukeley was an English adventurer of an extraordinary kind who had come to Ireland, and finding himself totally distrusted by Elizabeth went to Rome. Fitzmaurice, leaving the Italian troops under his direction, hastened back to Spain. There he obtained 800 more soldiers from the King. With the vanguard of these amounting to 80 men he sailed for Ireland in six small ships. He had been absent for four years engaged on these negotiations.

He arrived at Dingle in Kerry in July 1579. It was of this period that the old Irish bard sang in

the allegorical poem *Dark Rosaleen* which Mangan has so finely translated:

> There's wine from the royal Pope
> Upon the ocean green,
> And Spanish ale shall give you hope,
> My dark Rosaleen.

On July 17 the Portreeve of Dingle wrote the Earl of Desmond of the arrival of six Spanish ships very late in the afternoon. They went with a pinnace, well appointed, to know what they were. They talked with and knew some of the mariners, who were Spaniards.

FITZMAURICE'S LAST ATTEMPT

On that July evening in 1579, very late in the afternoon, according to the report of their Portreeve to the Earl of Desmond, the good people of Dingle were startled to see these six Spanish ships steer through the narrow entrance into their almost landlocked harbour.

Here was element for excitement indeed:

> The black wharves and the slips
> And the sea-tides tossing free,
> And the Spanish sailors with bearded lips,
> And the beauty and mystery of the ships,
> And the magic of the sea.

Spanish ships were no strangers there, but they rarely came in such numbers at one time. There were always smugglers to land casks of rich wine, and even to do a little occasional freebooting, and there was a certain freemasonry of friendship

between the men of the sea and the traders at both sides.

So that when the Portreeve manned his well-appointed pinnace, and went forth to talk with these visitors, it was not strange that his people knew and conversed with some of the Spanish mariners. But they were not permitted to set foot on the ships. They may have caught some glimpse of an officer in a yellow doublet, but at any rate are sure that Fitzmaurice is there.

Next we hear that Fitzmaurice has landed. "The traitor upon Saturday last came out of his ship." Two friars bearing ensigns, and a bishop with a crosier, staff, and his mitre,[1] preceded James Fitzmaurice. He has two vessels of 760 tons and four barks. He makes fires on the high hills and looks for more ships. The writer (James Golde) intends to beat him out of his fort to-morrow—but thought better of it somehow.

Some nine miles to the north-west of Dingle, near the shores of Smerwick Bay, lies the impoverished village of Smerwick on the landward slope of the Three Sisters, great pointed cliffs tilted up sheer on the seaward side. Smerwick Bay lies to the east, cut off on its opposite side by the precipitous Brandon mountain. An arm of this mountain range intervenes between Dingle and Smerwick. It would be hard to find a spot more remote or inaccessible except by sea—and there are only natural harbours there. Even to-day the inhabitants of all that district speak Irish mainly, and the numerous relics of stone beehive-huts,

[1] The papal legate, Dr. Saunders.

cahirs, and boat-shaped oratories on the Dingle peninsula show that the old Irish civilisation survived in this isolated corner long after it had disappeared elsewhere.

On the western shore of Smerwick Bay the cliffs are some thirty or forty feet high at one point where there is a small projection of the land. This would be a little island if it were not connected with the mainland, a few feet away, by a very narrow strip of soil, just wide enough to walk across with some care. The connecting neck dips, and there are traces of stone steps in the little hollow.

A few hundred feet of the mainland are enclosed, fan-shape, by the scarping away of the ground in front, so as to form a breastwork three or four feet high.

This is the famous Fort of Gold—the Fort del Oro of the Spaniards, the Dun an Oir of the Irish.

On the top of the little peninsula are a few grassy mounds where small buildings once stood.

Looking at it to-day its insignificant size makes one wonder how it ever held 800 men or was besieged by an army.

Its military value must have been small, for it is easily commanded from the sea, and secures nothing landwards beyond a landing-place in this wild remote district.

A Dingle merchant, one Peter Ruisium (probably Roche or Rice) according to O'Sullivan, had set up some kind of stronghold there, most

likely for smuggling, and placed it in charge of three or four lads.

Fitzmaurice had cast his eye on this spot. When he landed and lit his fires on the hills to rouse the country, he made search for this Dingle merchant, and having captured him took him to the Smerwick fort. There at the entrance he hoisted him, bound on to some of his military machinery of attack—some catapult or sling probably—and raised him up so that he could speak to the lads within the fort and direct them to open the gate. This was done, and Fitzmaurice took possession of the place.

On July 19 there is a letter from the Earl of Desmond from Cullen, near Tipperary, where he was building a castle.[1] He is ready with all his to venture his life in Her Majesty's quarrel. He requires advice.

Fitzmaurice had, doubtless, counted on the assistance of the Earl in his projects. But the latter was no longer the rash, if gallant, youth of former times. He is said to have been very much altered by his imprisonment. Now he could probably weigh the desperate nature of the struggle likely to ensue, and feel apprehensive of its results.

At first he openly proclaimed himself on the side of the Queen.

On July 20 we learn that "on Saturday the rebel burned the Dingle",[2] spoiled all Desmond's territory, etc. etc. Desmond having all his forces, hopes with the hand of God to expel the traitor.

[1] *A.F.M.*

[2] Not otherwise recorded; probably a false report.

In spite of these declarations and an assemblage of his forces Desmond took no real steps to attack Fitzmaurice.

On August 5 Walsingham, whose information appears to have been good, wrote to Edward Tremayne that he had news that James Fitzmaurice's force was not more than 200 or 300 men. There was little to be feared.

The Irish Council were more alarmed.

On August 9 we find:

"Order taken by the Lord Chancellor and Council of Ireland for the muster of all persons in the Pale between 16 and 60. . . . The proclamation against the traitor, James Fitzmaurice, to be made at Limerick. Leaders of blindfolds, harpers, rhymers, and all loose and idle persons to be executed by martial law."

The bards had a sorry time of it under Elizabeth.

Fitzmaurice was now launched upon his great adventure. He and his little Spanish band were but the spear-head. He had seized upon the Fort of Gold merely as a landing-place for the troops that were to follow. There were Stukeley's 1000, and about the same number coming from Spain. Having supplies and prospects of obtaining plenty firearms and ammunition, he had planned to rouse and arm all Munster. The Earl's refusal to join him was probably genuine enough at first. But the latter could not rely upon his followers. There was not a noble or gentle Munster Geraldine whose heart did not leap at the news of the advent of the bold fighter Fitzmaurice, and the flinging down of

his glove in challenge to the Queen's proud claims, and to the hungry swarm of her representatives in Ireland. Even the Earl's own brother, Sir John of Desmond, hastened at once to Fitzmaurice, whilst he himself was driven to use every device of procrastination to avoid being drawn into the whirlpool.

Sir John's journey was marked by a tragedy at the outset. Sir Henry Davell or Davells, an officer and favourite of the Queen, also made his way to Tralee to observe Fitzmaurice's proceedings and concert action against him. Sir John broke into his lodgings there at night, and slew him and one of his companions.

Davells was a much-trusted officer of the Irish Government and had obtained many grants of confiscated lands. He was well on the way to high advancement, and would probably have founded one of the great Irish territorial houses if he had not met his fate in this fashion. He had been friendly to Sir John, whose action is unsparingly stigmatised by the English historians. Froude says that the murder was committed to force the Earl's hands and compel him to join with the insurgents. It is said to have disgusted Fitzmaurice very much and helped towards the creation of strained relations between him and Sir John.

The Earl disapproved of it also, though Davells had written to him in an offensive and overbearing strain, requiring him to attack Fitzmaurice.

It is not necessary to make little of Sir John's act to enable us to discount the wholesale con-

demnation awarded to it by English writers. It is, at any rate, the sole instance in which anything of the kind is alleged against the Desmonds in their contest with the English, whilst these same writers ignore, or treat very lightly indeed, record after record of murder of Irishmen by poison or the sword, not to speak of the legalised slaughter by the axe or the gallows, which followed on every English triumph.

The Four Masters say that the Earl left his castle-building at Cullen, and went to meet Fitzmaurice. We have seen that he offered his services to the Government.

DEATH OF FITZMAURICE

Fitzmaurice, now thoroughly committed to his high emprise, found the Earl hesitating, if not hostile, and having some differences with Sir John determined to set out for Connaught to obtain help from his former allies there, as a nucleus round which to rally all the native troops whilst waiting for his foreign soldiers. He started with a small force, and intended, it is said, to visit the abbey of Holycross on his way, in fulfilment of a vow.

Somewhere in the country of the Bourkes of Castleconnell he took a horse from a plough (according to Cox; other authorities say that he raided the district). The Bourkes, though his kinsmen, called on their neighbours for help, and pursued him. When they overtook him (August 15, 1579) he tried to remonstrate and reason with

them, but they persisted in their design of attacking him. He prepared to resist strenuously, but at an early stage of the struggle, being easily known "by his yellow doublet", he was shot at by a horse-boy in the opposing ranks and severely wounded.

In all this great Geraldine's record there is nothing more heroic than the story of his death. Concealing the fact that he was grievously wounded, he charged furiously, at the head of his few troops, against the overwhelming numbers of his foes. Encountering their leader, young Theobald Bourke, he clove his head in two with a single stroke, and is also said to have killed his two younger brothers. In the end his opponents were driven from the field. But the victory was won at a high price. His wound was mortal.

Dr. Allen, one of the two ecclesiastics who had accompanied him from Rome,[1] administered the last rites as Fitzmaurice lay under a tree bleeding to death. O'Daly states that the latter made a will appointing Sir John of Desmond leader in his place, and exhorting him to make no peace with the English as he had fatal experience of their treachery.

He also directed that his faithful people should cut off his head so that his enemies might not recognise him or mutilate his body. This direction was unavailing, however. His body was found and hanged in chains ("quartered", says Cox) in Kilmallock, where the soldiers fired

[1] He was killed afterwards at the battle of Monasternenagh.

shots into it. One account says that his head was sent to the Lord Deputy.[1]

WRITERS OF THE TIME ON FITZMAURICE

In this obscure skirmish fell the real hope of Ireland. No other captain could unite the people or induce them to fight as he did. Had he lived he might have changed European history. Winning out he would have made Ireland almost independent. Even had he lost the fight things could have been no worse for his kindred and his people than they proved to be afterwards. But the odds were on his holding his own. He knew the country and was worshipped by the people. He had held out before without arms or supplies. Now he was promised both with a formidable force of disciplined soldiers.

That the great house of Desmond never produced a more gallant fighter is shown by the testimony of writers who lived a few years later and wrote whilst these events were fresh in memory. Russell, whose father was at Bohermore in 1560 under Earl Gerald, but who was himself a staunch admirer of Elizabeth, writes of him:

"To be breife . . . hee and the English forces oftentimes mett, they being led by Sir John Perrot, the Lord President of Munster, and alsoe by diuers braue captains, in all which encounters the sayd

[1] O'Sullivan says that this encounter took place at "Beal-antha-an-Bhorin", conjectured to be Barrington's Bridge in County Limerick.

James Fitzmaurice lost neither ground nor reputation, but rather most commonly, went off with the winning hand, and held all his adversaryes, which were too many, at the swordes poynt dureing the Earl's imprisonment in England."

Again:

" This James Fitzmaurice was (rightly for to describe him) a braue and gallant gentleman, witty, learned, impassionate, circumspect, active, generous, deuoute, subtill and quick of apprehension, elloquent, of a high and aduenturous pollitícke and dissembling mind, too forward and apt to trauaille " (labour) " to take great pains and to endure thirst, cold and hunger. . . . And truly hee was well worthy of an Earldom had hee meanes answerable to maintayne the course hee held; as by the strange military stratagems by him acted dureing those troubles you may easily perceive."

And further:

" This Fitzmaurice was well worthy to serue any Prince in Christendome, both forr his manhood, policy and good direction; hee was a noble and gallant gentleman—graue, affable, wise, learned, and religious; a man of a farre-reaching witt, of a voluble sweete tongue, and haue a comely behauiour; and if his meanes had bin able to second the plott he layed out of all question hee would haue performed much in that last action. But all his haughty designes died with his lyfe and the downfall of his house presently ensued. The English, through his death, took heart and courage; and the Irish were daunted haueing lost theyre cheife

leader, beeing neuer like to fynde such another. Lett noe man bee offended, if I giue him his due praise; for I hold it lawfull to commend worth even in any enemy, for what I haue deliuered of him I speake without passion or partiality."

Here is the testimony of an enemy, Hooker, member for Athenry:

". . . a deep dissembler, passing subtile, and able to compass any matter he took in hand; courteous, valiant, expert in martial affairs."

The eulogist of the rival house of Ormond writes of him as "one whom nothing could defect or bow down, a scorner of luxury and ease, insensible to danger, impervious to the elements, preferring after a hard day's fighting the bare earth to a luxurious couch."

We have seen what Perrot really thought of him.

These descriptions are all taken from the writings of men who differed from Fitzmaurice's views even when they were not virulently opposed to them. There is a curious incident related which shows what the Irish thought of his house.

Fitzmaurice had left his two sons in Spain under the protection of the King. The elder (Maurice) died, and the second (Gerald) was lost long afterwards in one of the ships of the Armada on the Irish shores. O'Daly relates that when the ships of the vice-admiral of that ill-fated fleet (Alphonsus de Leira) were subsequently labouring in a storm off the dangerous western coast of Ireland, the crews took to their boats and reached the land.

Multitudes of the native Irish rushed to meet them, and, learning who they were, asked: "Where, oh, where is the Geraldine?" When told that he had perished in the storm, loud and mournful was their wailing. "Go, go," they exclaimed. "Since you have lost Gerald, we want you not." And de Leira and his men were forced to return to their ships, which were subsequently lost.

Elizabeth marked her satisfaction at the death of her dangerous enemy by a letter in her own hand to the father of the Bourkes who had been slain, settling on him a yearly pension of 200 marks, and creating him a peer under the title of Lord Baron of Castleconnell.

The old man was brought to the Council Chamber at Limerick to be invested in the robes of his new dignity. He fainted under their weight and died shortly afterwards. "Of joy," Camden says. Perhaps grief for the death of his sons may have had something to do with it. It would be more in accordance with human experience if this were so. Joy rarely kills.

The following records are of interest[1]:

August 3.—Edmund Walsh to Walsingham. This rebellion is the most perilous that ever was begun in Ireland; of 1200 that were with Desmond, not 60 left.

August 19.—Instruction to Perrot to cruise off the west coast of Ireland and destroy Fitzmaurice's ships.

August 31.—Wallop to Walsingham. General

[1] *C.S.P.*

rejoicing (amongst the English, of course) at Fitzmaurice's death.

September 10.—Malbie to Walsingham. Fitzmaurice had won O'Neill and Ulster and some in Munster and Leinster. Desmond has not three men of the country who will follow him in Her Majesty's service.

Stukeley allowed his expedition to be diverted by the King of Portugal to Morocco, where he and all his troops were defeated and killed. Fitzmaurice appears to have died without knowing this. The second or Spanish force which had been raised consisted of about 800 men. They landed in due course at the Smerwick Fort of Gold. There they were hemmed in by English forces by land and sea and compelled to surrender after a brief siege, the common soldiers being massacred in cold blood under circumstances that seem to require explanation or excuse from every English writer who has since dealt with the subject. The reader can look upon them as victims of the vengeance of some Amyas Leigh for the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition, with Kingsley if he likes, or take Spenser's explanation that life was not promised to them when they surrendered. Spenser does not mention the Spanish Inquisition. He was probably there, however[1]; whilst Kingsley, whose few incursions into Irish history seem rather unfortunate, was not.

[1] "Myself being as neare them as any" (*View of Ireland* (1809), p. 171).

REBELLION OF THE EARL

Though Fitzmaurice was dead, Sir John of Desmond remained. He had burnt his ships when he slew Davells. For him there was no hope of compromise or pardon. And out to him went the heart of sympathy of every Geraldine worth the name in Munster.

He had drawn away from Fitzmaurice and appears to have gone towards Kilmallock with his fast-increasing army. There he was attacked by the President Drury.[1]

The Geraldines defeated the latter with, it is said, the loss of three hundred men. Worn out by the fatigues of the campaign, he retired to Waterford, and thence to Cork, where he died. He left

[1] Drury was appointed President of Munster in 1576. He signalised his advent to office by a kind of "Bloody Assize". At Cork he hanged forty-eight "notable malefactors"; one was pressed to death (presumably for refusal to plead); two were drawn and quartered. At Limerick he disposed of twenty-two. At Kilkenny his record was thirty-six, including a blackamoor and two witches, who were condemned, we are told, by the law of nature, there being no positive law against witchcraft then.

Drury apologised to the Government for his moderation. Next year he improved, and hanged 400 "by justice and martial law". Amongst them was a Brehon whom he described as much esteemed amongst the common people, but who was guilty of the crime of teaching such laws as "were repugnant to her majesty's".

He also bound several citizens by "Recognisance of Forty Pound" to come to church to hear divine service every Sunday pursuant to the Queen's injunctions. (See Cox, vol. i. p. 354.)

the command to a soldier who had distinguished himself in Connaught, Captain Malby. The latter marched against Sir John into Connello. The armies met at Manister Abbey near Croom (Monasternenagh), and a battle ensued, of which the accounts are conflicting. The truth appears to be that both sides could claim successes at various stages, the English holding the field in the end. Malby withdrew to Rathkeale and Sir John to Aherlow. It is fairly clear that the insurgents' power was not broken at any rate, for Sir John defeated the garrison of Kilmallock which marched out to intercept him on his way to Aherlow.

The Earl with troops of his own had watched the encounter at Manister from Tory Hill in the neighbourhood, and offered assistance to Malby when it was over. His hesitating policy at this stage was about the most fatal that he could have adopted. If he had openly helped the royal forces, he would, at least, probably have saved his lands and honours, even if he had to submit to English rule. If, when Sir John's troops had staggered Malby's, and half-routed them in the first onset at Manister, the Earl with his all-too-willing soldiers had supported his brother, it is more than probable that Malby would have been defeated, and the English troops driven out of Desmond altogether. But it was not the hot-blooded young Earl of the Affane days who looked on there from Tory Hill. It was a grey-haired man worn with much imprisonment and suffering, laden with the destinies of all his people, and grown cautious even to timorousness. There he must

have stood torn with anxiety and a prey to doubt and indecision. That he could have had no counsellors more evil, the widespread ruin that befell his race and followers is the best proof.

He retired to his stronghold of Askeaton when the battle was over. Malby followed him there and burnt the abbey of that place, whilst Desmond looked on from the hills or the castle which his own forces held.

On October 10 (1579) he wrote to Ormond complaining pitifully that Malby "hath most spitefully broken and burned" Ormond's mother's (and Desmond's wife's) grave.[1]

As the result of negotiations he gave up his seven-year-old son, allowing him to be taken to Dublin as a hostage. The youth was ultimately imprisoned in the Tower at London. But events moved too fast for the Earl, and he was drawn into the revolt by circumstances in spite of himself. He was proclaimed traitor before the year-end.

The Four Masters give a striking description of the state of the country during the wars that followed. They say that the Desmonds burned all the towns and fortresses which they took, and the English retaliated by burning every house, dwelling, rick, and corn-stack in their course, so that the country was laid waste between them without corn or dwellings.

In addition to this kind of destruction, cattle were driven away wherever they were found by the various "preying" expeditions—sometimes

[1] We may remember that Countess Joan lies buried there.

to the number of thousands. When the Earl was proclaimed a traitor, on his refusal to submit to extreme demands, the Desmonds, now united, took and plundered Youghal. Ormond subsequently hanged the mayor on a charge of not having sufficiently defended the town.

The following records refer to this period:

November 15, 1579.—Sir Warham St. Leger writes to Burghley: "All the Geraldines confederate except Sir James Fitzgerald of the Decies, Sir Thomas of Desmond and his son James,[1] and Mr. John Fitz Edmond of Cloyne. All Munster bent to the Popish religion and no reckoning of perjury. . . . The scope of their range includes the Great Wood, Aharlaugh Wood, Dromfinyne, Glanmorie and Glanfriske which are their chief fortresses."

January 5, 1580.—St. Leger to Burghley. No messenger can depart half a quarter of a mile out of the town (Cork) without danger of his life.

February 2.—Lord Roche to Ormond. I have laid every night during the space of 8 or 9 nights for the Seneschal (of Imokilly) who stole away privily one Friday at night last past by means of some spy gone to him, whereby he took the way over the water about Lismore, and so over the mountain of Aharlowe notwithstanding that my men made all the earnest pursuit that in them lay.

February 16.—Clonmel, Pelham to the Council. Am on my way to Limerick and will within three

[1] Thomas Ruadh, still looking to England for his rights. His son became the "Sugan Earl" later.

days (God willing) be encamped under Arlowe where the forces of the County Tipperary do await assembled for defence of those parts leaving that guard of my Lord of Ormond's kinsmen, friends and followers under the leading of Sir Tibbot Butler to keep those woods of Arlowe, and to front the rebel if he look into Tipperary.

The Ormond forces, however, did not "keep" the woods of Aherlow, and the rebel often looked into Tipperary in defiance of these guards.

February 28.—Pelham to Council. On 18th the Earl of Ormond and I assembled in the east end of Arlowe in the county called Muskrie where certain of the Burkes kept three castles to the relief of the traitors. I took those castles from them.[1]

March 31.—Sir Patrick Walsh to Walsingham. The late traitor, James Fitzmaurice's wife taken in a deep cave in a rock with others by Ormond's horsemen.

April 12.—Ormond was informed at Cashel of Spanish ships arrived at Dingle, 1500 Spaniards ready in Biscay, Sir John (of Desmond) will be this night in Aharlaughe.

May 18.—Pelham writes: "On Sunday last . . . created Sir W. Burke a baron who was nerely overcome by the excitement."

May 31.—N. White, Master of Rolls, to Burghley. The new Baron, Burke, partly from excitement, and partly from the unwonted short-

[1] It is not easy to locate those castles now. One was probably at Cappauniac.

ness of his new robes, fell suddenly in a swoon at the Lord Justice's table.

June 28.—Pelham and Ormond march into Kerry.

July 28. — Ormond to Walsingham. Piers Grace in Aharlow woods watches to do some great mischief.

August 8. — Ormond to Walsingham. Ps. Butler attacked near Arlo, but he slew 8 of the rebels, and sent their heads to Cashel.

Grey (Lord Deputy) to the Queen, *November* 12, 1580.—Limerick: on November 9, 600 were put to the sword, of whom 400 were gallant and goodly persons.

In July 1580 Sir John proceeded to (from) the woods of Aherlow with 100 foot and 13 horse. He went through Moyaliffe, and made a prey in Borrisoleigh. He was attacked on all sides—probably by the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanagh amongst others—but defeated the pursuers, and got away to a place of safety.

We are told that he slept only on heaps of stones or the earth, and drank nothing but the water from the clear stream, from the palms of his hands or his shoes; his cooking-utensils were the long rods of the wood, by which he dressed the flesh meat which he took from his enemies. These warriors of Desmond were clearly not afraid of hardship. This is an interesting glimpse of their methods of living as outlaws in Aherlow.

Froude says that in the spring of 1580 Pelham and Ormond "passed through the rebel counties in two companies, consuming with fire all habita-

tions, and executing the people wherever they found them". Fitzmaurice's widow[1] and her two little girls were discovered concealed in a cave. Froude adds: "they were heard of no more, and were probably slain with the rest. The Irish annalists say that the bands of Pelham and Ormond killed the blind and the aged, women and children, sick and idiots, sparing none. Pelham's own words too closely confirm the charge."

November 15, 1580. — Thomas Coppinger, Boroughmaster of Youghal, to the Mayor of Waterford. The traitors Eustace and John of Desmond with their forces are come to Arlagh. They intend to assault Youghal.

March 11, 1581.—Miler Magrath reports to Sir Lucas Dillon that McCarthy More, McCarthy Reagh, the O'Sullivan, etc., have joined the rebels.[2]

In May 1581 Sir John marched across the Suir and completely plundered Ardmayle and the monastery of Athassel. He was pursued and attacked, but slew 300 of his assailants, and carried off his prey to the woods of Coill More and Claonglass.[3]

In September 1581 the Earl imitated this exploit. He raided far into the Ormond country, and met the English forces at Gortnapishy, at the base of

[1] A second wife; not the lady to whom Edward Butler wrote love-letters.

[2] A copy of this letter is certified by Spenser.

[3] Coill More or Kylemore—the Great Wood near Kilmallock and Kilfinane, and along the Ballyhoura range of mountains. Claonglass, now Clonlish, in the south-west part of County Limerick.

Slievenamon. Ten battalions of his enemies were destroyed in the ensuing battle according to O'Sullivan and O'Daly.[1]

In 1582 the Earl again raided Ormond's country. He was pursued by the Butlers with superior forces. They overtook him at Knockgraffon (of the famous mote) near Cahir. He inflicted a severe defeat upon them there in a desperate contest—cut them to pieces according to some accounts. He was then attacked [2] by the English under Captain Roberts at Scourlogue (south of Thomastown demesne in the Ross neighbourhood, County Tipperary, according to one informant), but defeated them again.

In 1581, "on the fourth day of Christmas",

[1] A curious confirmation of this record of the Irish historians appears in a statement in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society* for 1868 (pp. 88-89). The writer, a Mr. John Lindsay, desiring to dispute MacGeoghegan's account of this conflict (which seems to have been the only one with which he was acquainted), deals with the affair as if it occurred in 1579. The difficulties raised on that supposition largely disappear, however, when we know that the battle took place in 1581. He says, "That some battle must have been fought at or near Gortnapishy at the foot of Sliabh-na-mbhan there is positive evidence to prove. On the lands of lower Ballinard, a short distance from Gortnapishy, the bones of men, horses, pieces of saddles, leather, buttons, bits of metal, etc.—some of which I myself have seen—have often been found. . . ." There is no such weighty evidence behind this writer's suggestions of other battles on the spot as O'Sullivan's specific statement. The history of the latter was written within forty years of the occurrence.

[2] O'Daly, *History of the Geraldines.*

Sir John took Kilfeakle. It must have been a fair-sized place, for we are told that he continued for two days to carry away the brass, iron, etc., to Aherlow. He then demolished the town.[1] But this was the last of his exploits for (1582) Sir John proceeded to (from) the woods of Aherlow with four horsemen to have a conference with his ally, Barrymore, and try to settle some differences which had arisen between him, and that well-known Geraldine captain, the Seneschal of Imokilly. Captain Zouch obtained intelligence of his intention and laid an ambuscade for him on the south of the Blackwater near Castlelyons, County Cork. John was wounded and taken prisoner, but died before he had gone a mile.

He had been the chief soldier on the Desmond side after the death of Fitzmaurice. O'Daly credits him with many victories won over the English, and no less than three hundred successful raids. His loss was a most serious one to the Desmond cause. Except perhaps the Seneschal of Imokilly they had no military leader now left.

THE LAST PHASES OF THE STRUGGLE

In the same year the Earl of Desmond was located from the harvest to the end of the year (1582) between "Druim Finghin, Aherlo and Coill an Chuigidh",[2] and his sole study and

[1] *A.F. Masters.*

[2] *A.F.M.* Druim Finghin is the ridge which runs between Cappoquin and Dungarvan, but there is another place of the same name near Kilfinane adjoining Kyle

occupation during that time was to harass the Butlers by day and night in retaliation for all the injury the Earl of Ormond had committed on the Geraldines till then.

It was the more easy to harass the Butlers since the Earl of Ormond was in England this year, and on that occasion he (Desmond) had his full satisfaction over the estate, for he left the entire country in weeds and waste from Waterford to Lothra,[1] and from Cnamhcoill to the county of Kilkenny.

"This was Ormond territory. What follows seems to refer to Desmond.

". . . it is impossible to enumerate half or one-third of the desperate encounters, hard-contested conflicts, and intrepid onsets that were carried on by the Geraldines at that time, and it was then it was said that the lowing of a cow, or the voice of a ploughman was not heard from Dunkeen (in Kerry) to Cashel of Munster" (*Four Masters*, *Annals of Ireland*).

The battles of Knockgraffon and Gortnapishy, referred to above, were amongst these hard-contested conflicts, but the struggle, in the main, was carried on in the greater Desmond. But the Geraldines had lost their principal military leaders, and the Earl was not equal to his task. His lands

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More, which may be meant here. Coill na Chuigidh, the wood of the province, lay south of Kilmallock and was part of the Great Wood, Kylemore. It is not to be confounded with Perrot's "Kilhoogge". Perhaps it is the same as Kilcruaig, a pass with intricate defiles near Ballyorgan, on the road from Kilmallock to Kildorrery.

[1] Lorrha in County Tipperary.

lay open for the most part to the raids of any strong force, whilst all the fortified towns in Desmond were in the hands of the English, and inch by inch the Geraldines were driven back into their wooded and mountain strongholds, and their lands wasted with fire and sword.

In 1582, we have the following:

Sir Warham St. Leger to Walsingham—Skirmish in the woods of Arlo from the morning till almost night.

May 28. — Limerick. Justice John Meade to Walsingham; of the miserable state of Ireland, which God hath cursed. Famine; sickness. "There is not the tenth man alive throughout all the land."

June 7.—Wallop to Walsingham. Zouch's success in Arlagh where he distressed the Countess of Desmond.

July 20.—Captain Thomas Norreys to Wallop. Relates how they were directed by the Governor to rise out of Clonmel, and meet the garrison of Kilmallock at the Banscho (Bansha, of course), to beat the wood of Harlowe; not altogether a successful beat for it goes on: The manner in which David McUlick Bourke drew the Irish upon them, who have taken all their hackneys and garrons. The said David is now prisoner.[1]

[1] At the time of the Fenian insurrection in 1867, the country people freely spoke of it as the "rising" or "rising-out". This was quite a common expression at the time with which we are dealing. The fact is of interest as establishing that, like a good many other supposed Irish provincialisms or idioms, the phrase is really sound Elizabethan English.

August 28.—Countess of Desmond to Burghley —Prays that her son, now in Dublin, without any kind of learning, may be brought to England. He was a gift presented to Her Majesty.

(Every intervention of this poor short-sighted mother for her son's sake had disastrous consequences. Her request was granted with sad results enough.)

August 29.—Wallop and Waterhouse (Justices) to Burghley. Victuals must be sent to Limerick for the rebel of Munster haunts the woods of Arlowe and O'Mulrian's country.

October 10.—Bishop of Rosse Carbery to the Lords Justices—"Also the Earl (of Desmond) is very strong, and he and his (ac)complices are about 2000 fighting men. Tone Boy Reagh (*i.e.* Gerald McThomas of Connelo) and Donough McCormack are upon the borders of Aharlo reaping likewise the corn, and carrying it into the woods, and are by report above 300 men." [1]

In January 1583, Ormond landed at Waterford with 400 men. Rallying his household to him, his first attempt was in "Harlo" wood in pursuit of the Earl of Desmond. He divided his party into four squadrons, and searched Aherlow thoroughly. He slew many of the rebels and dispersed and frightened the rest, without finding Desmond however.

[1] This throws light upon the Irish method of provisioning. They grew what wheat they could, and raided their enemies' crops, storing the proceeds in woods or other hidden storage-places. Of course their opponents destroyed those hoards whenever they found them, as well as cutting down any crops they found, ripe or unripe.

February 22.—G. Fenton to Burghley. The 7th the rebels had a solemn consultation in Arlogh. The garrisons of Kilmallock and Limerick attack the Seneschal of Imokilly's camp in Arlogh. (All these different spellings represent "Aherlow", of course.)

February 28.—Ormond to the Privy Council. His night journeys to the woods of Ahirlaghe, Kilecowgie (probably the Pallasgrean neighbourhood; Perrot's "Kilhoogge") and Ownie. Seven of Imokilley's men slain in Arlo. Three hundred and thirty-nine of the rebels received to mercy. . . . Desmond has fled towards Slieve Loghra.[1] In August the garrison of Kilmallock had fresh advice that Desmond with 60 gallowglasses was come into "Harlow" wood, whereupon Captain Dowdall so timed the matter that he took 25 of them asleep in their "cabbins", and the rest, who were boiling horse-flesh, he quickly discomfited and slew. The Earl escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

Indeed he was now living the life of a hunted outlaw. Gone was all the pride and splendour of the Desmonds. He flitted from hiding-place to hiding-place with his few followers. Once (about Christmas 1582) he and the Countess escaped by hiding up to their necks in a stream in Kylemore Wood, at Kilquane near Kilmallock. Hooker gives a picture of his life a little later when he wandered from mountain to mountain attended only by a priest and a few faithful followers. "Where they did dress their meat, thence they

[1] In Kerry on the Limerick borders.

would remove to eat it in another place, and from thence go into another place to lie. In the nights they would watch; in the forenoon they would be upon the hills and mountains to descry the country, and in the afternoon they would sleep."

Scattered bands of his followers maintained some trifling show of resistance, but the terrible desolation of the whole province reduced them to most miserable straits.

October 19.—Sir Warham St. Leger to Burghley. "Maurice Fitz-John with 60 swords keeps in Clenglasse, the Great Wood and Arlo. Desmond is willing to submit if he may have life and liberty, and his son to enjoy his living after his decease. He also stipulates for religious freedom." Nothing came of this offer.[1]

In November, he was in Kerry near Tralee with a small following. Some of his servants seized a cow, the property of the Moriartys who were clansmen of his. The latter sought the aid of the English garrison at Castlemaine, and obtained 7 musketeers and 12 kerne. These pursued Desmond's trail, and (Cox), "about midnight seeing a fire, they drew towards it, and so came to a cabbin where they found an old Man alone sitting by the fire (the Servants having ran away on their Approach). Kolly (Kelly) (who led the soldiers, and was bred by the English, although a native Irishman) struck the old Man with his Sword, and almost cut off his arm; whereupon the old Man

[1] He might have made peace at an earlier stage if he consented to surrender the Papal legate, Dr. Saunders, who was in his company. He refused to do so.

cried out that he was Earl of Desmond; and Kolly would have spared him, but finding that he bled so fast that he could not live, he immediately cut off the Earl's head, which was sent afterwards into England, and placed on a pole on Londonbridge."

This occurred at Glanagenty, five miles from Tralee, on November 11, 1583.

The actual slayer, O'Kelly, received a pension from the Queen, but was subsequently hanged in London for robbery.

And so the long quarrel is ended at last. Ormond may possess Kilfeakle and Clonmel and his prize wines in peace. He was no soft-hearted sentimentalist. Nevertheless he might well be forgiven if he felt emotion when he rode over London Bridge on any of his occasions, and saw the head which his mother had so loved, set amongst the grinning horrors there.

This Garret or Gerot or Gerald was the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, and the last of the true Geraldines who held that title unquestioned. He it is [1] who is supposed to slumber in an enchanted sleep under the waters of Lough Gur, near which one of his numerous castles stood. Every seventh year, we are told, he rides forth, with his knightly following, over the surface of the lake, on a horse shod with silver. When the horse's shoes are worn out, he will return and restore all the lost glories of Desmond.

[1] According to Hardiman. Other authorities affix the legend to the fourth Earl Gerald, the poet and wizard. Very likely it was first told of him, and then attached to his namesake.

THE DEVASTATION OF MUNSTER

The Desmond wars reduced the country affected by them to the utmost misery.

As early as 1566, Sir H. Sydney wrote: "I have known Munster as well inhabited as many counties are in England, yet a man may now ride forty miles, and find no house standing nor any manurance of the earth".

Sir V. Browne says, "In 1584 the towns and villages were ruined, and but one in thirty persons was left alive".

Spenser bears witness in a well-known terrible passage: "The proofs whereof I saw sufficiently exampled in these late wars of Munster; for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should have been able to stand long; yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth, upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions happy where they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time. Yet not able to continue therewithal; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and

plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast."

In all these chronicles, it may strike the readers that the town of Tipperary is not once mentioned since the confiscation of its Abbey by Henry VIII., though it lay right in the heart of the disputed country, on the verge of, if not actually part of Onaght. Perhaps we may find the reason in a note on a list of towns in the county of Tipperary given in *The State of Ireland Anno* 1598. In this list are included Tipperary "Wast" and "Emelie" also "Wast". Just that one word "Waste", yet could any word be found conveying a more forcible idea of utter ruin? It almost compels us to picture the foxes making their lairs and the briars growing over all amid the blackened ruins of the old Irish town of Emly, and the Norman settlement of Tipperary alike.

Both places dropped out of Irish history for many a year. Though Tipperary has recovered its status as one of the principal towns of the county, the ancient glories of Emly have never been restored.[1]

There are few facts so well attested, and as to which historians of all shades are in such agree-

[1] In the Hearth-money records of 1666-67 in Tipperary town 66 persons are returned as owning fireplaces, so that it must have begun to recover by that time. Interesting returns for comparison are, Cullen town 41, Sologhead town 41, and Emly town 21. Tipperary is not marked at all in Speed's map of Munster (1610), though such places as Knockordan, Kilfeakle (disguised as Kilphelell), and Galbally are shown on sites scattered more casually than correctly about the map.

ment, as the terrible nature of the destruction caused by the Desmond rebellions and their merciless repression. (It is necessary to remember that the principal seat of the warfare was that great plain now known as the Golden Vein, adjoining if not including Aherlow itself.)

Thus there is no need to rely upon native Irish authorities alone for the record. For once Froude and Lecky are in agreement with one another and with the Four Masters. Froude says,[1] "Every living thing was destroyed by which the insurrection could maintain itself. . . . The official records of this deadly war returned the killed and hanged in tens of thousands, and famine took up the work where neither sword nor rope could reach. Finally when of the proud clan of the Southern Geraldines, there were none left but a few scattered and desperate bands, the last weapon was produced which never failed to operate. Pardon and reward were offered to those who would kill their comrades, and the bloody heads of noted leaders were brought in by sacksful to be paid for in land or money."

Instances of betrayal there were, no doubt, but on no such wholesale scale as here depicted. Froude painted with a heavy brush at times.

Speaking of Elizabeth's soldiers, he says, "Placed in the country to repress banditti, they were little better than banditti themselves. . . . Too few to be able to take prisoners or hold a mutinous district in compelled quiet, their only resource was to strike terror by cruelty. When

[1] *English in Ireland*, Book i. chap. i.

sent to recover stolen cattle or punish a night-foray, they came at last to regard the Irish peasants as unpossessed of the common rights of human beings and shot and strangled them like foxes or jackals. More than once in the reports of officers employed in these services we meet the sickening details of these performances related with a calmness more frightful than the atrocities themselves; young English gentlemen describing expeditions into the mountains ' to have some killing ' as if a forest was being driven for a battue."

It would seem impossible to produce anything to surpass this description but Lecky manages to do so. Here is his description of the time.

" The suppression of the native race, in the wars against Shane O'Neill, Desmond, and Tyrone, was carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands, and was hardly exceeded by any page in the blood-stained annals of the Turks. Thus a deliberate attempt was made by a servant of the British government to assassinate in time of peace the great Irish leader Shane O'Neill, by a present of poisoned wine ; and although the attempt failed, and the assassin was detected and arrested, he was at once liberated by the government." [1]

" Essex accepted the hospitality of Sir Brian O'Neill. After a banquet, when the Irish chief had retired unsuspiciously to rest, the English general surrounded the house with soldiers, captured his host with his wife and brother, sent them all to Dublin for execution, and massacred

[1] Probably the affair of Smyth, the Queen's footman.

the whole body of his friends and retainers. An English officer, a friend of the Viceroy, invited seventeen Irish gentlemen to supper, and when they rose from table had them all stabbed."

" A catholic archbishop named Hurley fell into the hands of the English authorities, and before they sent him to the gallows they tortured him to extort confession of treason by one of the most horrible torments human nature can endure—by roasting his feet with fire. . . . The war as conducted by Carew, by Gilbert, by Pelham, by Mountjoy was literally a war of extermination. The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts, not only the men, but even the women and children who fell into the hands of the English, were deliberately and systematically butchered. Bands of soldiers traversed great tracts of country slaying every living thing they met. The sword was not found sufficiently expeditious, but another method proved much more efficacious. Year after year, over a great part of Ireland, all means of human subsistence was destroyed, no quarter was given to the prisoners who surrendered, and the whole population was skilfully and steadily starved to death. The pictures of the condition of Ireland are as terrible as anything in human history." [1]

Lecky goes on to quote Spenser's terrible passage as given above and Holinshed :

" So barren both of man and beast, that who-

[1] Gilbert and Pelham we have met. The latter was Lord Justice. Carew and Mountjoy came on the stage a little later.

ever did travel from one end of Munster, even from Waterford to the head of Smeerweeke, which is about six score miles, he would not meet any man, woman, or child saving in towns and cities; nor yet see any beasts but the very wolves, foxes, and other like ravening beasts, many of them late dead, being famished and the residue gone elsewhere."

Lecky continues: "A high English official writing in the same year (1582) computed that in six months more than 30,000 people had been starved to death in Munster, besides those who were hung or who perished by the sword."

"A faint gleam of light falls across the dark and lurid picture in the humanity of Sir John Perrot." [1]

"The Mass became illegal, the churches and church revenues were taken from the priests, but the benefices were filled with adventurers without religious zeal, and sometimes without common morality." [2]

These extracts enable us to understand better the determined resistance of Fitzmaurice to such a cruel rule, and his bitter dying testament. He had indeed "fatal experience" of the English ways. The Desmonds had naturally played their own parts in this drama of fire and slaughter. Yet in spite of the thorough measures of warriors and politicians a remnant of the people must have managed to survive somehow. Otherwise there would have been none left to receive the "pardons"

[1] He only slew or hanged "800 miserable creatures" we may remember! He was opposed to confiscation however.

[2] Lecky, *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 11.

so often mentioned in Elizabeth's " Fiants ", after the suppression of the first rebellion, and to flock to the standard of the leader of the second. Indeed, nothing is more curious in all this sombre story than the persistence with which the old Irish race has maintained its grip upon the soil in spite of all the terrible experiences it has undergone.

In the country that was once Muskry Quirke there are plenty of Quirkes to-day. In Aherlow there are perhaps more of the name of O'Brien than of any other. Wearers of princely Eoganacht names—McCarthys, O'Sullivans, O'Donoghues, etc., are found in numbers all over the " Onaght " territory.

It is astounding to think, but it is highly probable, that the bearers of those names now live upon the lands which the septs of their ancestors held as owners in the days of King Brian, and on which they have lived in unbroken succession ever since. Kings and Lord Deputies, Norman, Elizabethan, and Cromwellian landlords have come and gone. They have vanished like the mists from the Galtees, and still this sturdy people holds its place. War and famine have taken toll of them again and again. Often they have lain prostrate and exhausted for a time, but they have never really submitted in their hearts for an instant to the overlordship of their invaders.

THE CASE OF ARCHBISHOP O'HURLEY

It has been often contended that Elizabeth and her Council persecuted no man because of his

religion, and the statement has a sort of literal truth. In her reign men were not brought to trial charged with being Catholics.

But if you suppress Catholic monasteries and schools, drive the ecclesiastics of that religion abroad for education, and treat them as traitors and emissaries of foreign powers on their return, the result is much the same as if their religion were proscribed as criminal.

This is what happened in the case of Archbishop O'Hurley. He was educated abroad, residing at Louvain for fifteen years, and acting as professor of Canon Law at Rheims for four years.

On his appointment as Archbishop of Cashel in 1581 to replace Miler Magrath, as far as Catholics were concerned, he came to Ireland, and, arriving in the height of the Desmond rebellion, managed to exercise his functions secretly for some time.

In 1583 he went to the house of the Baron of Slane, and was guided from there to the Earl of Ormond (being "a born man under his lordship" according to his depositions). The Irish government, having discovered this, "so dealt with the Baron of Slane that he travelled to the Earl and brought the said Hurley hither unto us, where we have committed him close prisoner to the castle".

The Lords Justices, Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Wallop wrote to London to know what they were to do with him.

They acknowledged a reply in the following terms:[1] "We received one '(letter)' from your Honour (Walsingham) declaring Her Majesty's

[1] *State Papers*, vol. cvi. No. 7.

pleasure for the proceeding with Dr. Hurley by torture or any other severe manner of proceeding ". . . .

We . . . " will also deal with himself by the best means we may. But for that we want here either rack or other engine of torture to terrify him. . . ."

The Lords Justices did not like the job. They thought it better to have the archbishop taken to London and tortured there if the government wanted it.

They got peremptory orders on the matter evidently for they wrote on March 7, 1584,[1] that they had examined him without effect, and " not finding that easy examination to do any good we made commission to Mr. Waterhouse and Mr. Secretary Fenton to put him to the torture, such as Your Honour (Walsingham) advised us, which was to toast his feet against the fire with hot boots ".

His feet were inserted in boots filled with oil or butter and roasted until lumps of flesh came away, but very little was obtained from the archbishop as result. So little evidence was there against him that his persecutors were compelled to invoke martial law to obtain his sentence. There was a letter to Ormond from the archbishop by which with other letters, " Your Honour may discover what favour these Romish runagates have with our great potentate here ".

Ormond was too big a man, however, and too high in the Queen's favour, to be injured by the

[1] *State Papers*, vol. cviii.

attacks of the Lords Justices. They were afraid, too. One of their reasons for refusing a public trial was an apprehension that the prisoner "should break out and exclaim to the people . . . whereof we humbly pray Your Honour to be careful in our behalf, considering in how little safety we live here for the like services we have already done to Her Majesty—— "

The archbishop was hanged in a straw rope (by way of contempt) about June 19, 1584 (old style). Many Protestant authorities dispute the fact of his torture, and Froude minimises it. A discrepancy in the accounts of the torture seems to afford them a ground for this. Some of the writers say that boots of tin filled with oil were used to encase the archbishop's legs, under which a fire was then lit; others say that the boots were of leather in which butter and salt were put.

The *State Papers* above quoted, however, put the facts of the torture " by toasting his feet against the fire with hot boots " beyond doubt. Any one who likes can dispute as to the exact method employed.

Meantime the Papal Archbishop of Cashel is thus removed, and Miler is left to reign alone—perhaps as strange a vicegerent of God upon the earth as has appeared in any country at any time.

THE SHARING OF THE SPOILS

The death of Desmond left Munster defenceless before the crowd of hungry government supporters. The huge estates of the Earl, to the extent of 574,628 acres, except what was restored to the

White Knight, Patrick Condon, etc., were confiscated by an Act of Attainder passed in 1586 in Perrot's parliament.

Many of the occupants of the confiscated lands, however, were able to show that they held legal titles to their estates which were better than those of the Desmonds themselves, to whose overlordship they had only submitted under duress owing to superior force. In the end the confiscations were reduced to between two and three hundred thousand acres altogether.

These were allotted to "gentlemen undertakers" to enclose demesnes of specified area, and plant English farmers on the rest. The lots were 12,000, 8000, 6000, and 4000 acres. The descendants of some of these undertakers remain to the present day, especially in County Limerick, but the attempt to plant English farmers was a failure on the whole. Spenser was an "undertaker" for 4000 acres. Sir Walter Raleigh was perhaps the most favoured grantee, receiving three lots of 12,000 acres each in the Lismore-Youghal district, but he did not hold them for long. A great part of Aherlow and the lands lying between that place and Knockaney was granted to Sir Edward Fitton (whom we have known as Desmond's gaoler). The Fittons were Catholics and Confederates in Cromwell's time, and lost these lands in consequence.

Another remarkable adventurer who was in Ireland about this time deserves some notice. Sir Peter Carew, who came of Geraldine stock, had come over to assert his troublesome claims to the property of remote ancestors. He brought

over his nephews, George and Peter, who went a-soldiering, and were captains of troops of men of Devon and Cornwall which they led to Ireland in 1579. Peter was slain in some sally from Newcastle in County Wicklow in 1580. His brother George thereupon was obsessed to a frantic degree by the desire of revenge. In Midsummer 1583, he was at Dublin Castle when one O'Nasye, a follower of the Kavanaghs, whose property the Carews claimed, came to Dublin under a safe-conduct, to bring in as prisoner one of the rebellious Eustaces. George Carew hearing that O'Nasye had boasted that he was concerned in the death of Peter, rushed forth in search of the Irishman and stabbed him mortally, the instant he met him.

"Hope of revenge," he wrote to Walsingham, three months later, "did . . . breed me comfort . . . it hath been my good hap to kill him that slew my brother."

Walsingham's comment is: "George Carew hath lately committed a very foul act, able to make the Irishmen to enter into an hatred of us, trusting us in nothing, and thinking that there is treachery in any fair promises made unto them." That, however, is all the satisfaction that O'Nasye's friends ever got for this gross murder. It did not hinder Carew's advancement in the least. We shall meet him again.

THE SECOND GERALDINE REBELLION

For fifteen years Munster was comparatively quiet. Indeed, it would have been strange if it were otherwise after such a history. The wonder

is that the native chiefs ever raised their heads in rebellion again.

And so the Armada came and vanished without a trace of disturbance in that province. Ormond soiled his fingers with none of the Desmond plunder beyond the disputed borderlands. He might have done so, for he was high in favour, but the man had many noble ideas. He and Leicester were the Queen's principal supporters in the great ceremony of thanksgiving for the defeat of the Armada, and he might obviously have asked what he liked, but he seems to have disdained to mingle with the crowd of hungry vultures which tore at the noble quarry.

Soon the new government gave plenty of causes of discontent. The Queen had felt the cost of these Irish wars, which amounted to a very large sum indeed for those times. The country was driven " much against their will " to pay her a composition—so much for every plowland—for three years upon certain covenants. " The covenants were not observed nor yet the composition ceased at the determination " (in three years) " of the said tearme." The sheriffs and other officers dealt unlawfully with " the countrymen " to rob them of their goods. And there was continual vexation caused by harassing processes from the spiritual courts.

So it is stated by Oliver Hussey, on his examination after the arrest of the Sugan Earl, at a time, and under circumstances when it would not be of any possible benefit to him to make extravagant accusations.

Leland confirms this. He says that the Irish were not relieved from the grievous compositions laid on land at the stipulated time. He also speaks of the extortions and bribery of sheriffs; the easiness of English jurors in condemning "noxious" persons on the slightest evidence, and the terrifying executions of innocent Irishmen; also of the extraordinary devices used to impeach their titles to estates; the rigorous execution of the penal laws against recusants (not the well-known penal laws of later days), and the intrusion—as the Irish deemed it—of English settlers.

But, as Froude has told us, the English of the time looked upon the Irish as hardly human beings. And the Irish repaid the contempt in kind. Do we not remember how Fitzmaurice, when camped with Edward Butler near Kilkenny, refused to admit to his presence any one wearing English dress? True, Fitzmaurice was of mixed race. But he was a very striking example of the "Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis," being far more Irish than many pure-blooded Celts in his ideas and policy.

With such antipathies in existence there was very little chance of real permanent peace, and, of course, the dispossessed landowners were not content, and only awaited a chance to reassert their claims.

The rebellion of O'Neill and O'Donnell in the North, which had first broken out in 1588 and which had lasted for many years and been signalised by many important successes, had a profound effect on the Munster chiefs. So that when, in the autumn of 1598, Hugh O'More marched for

Munster, the President, Norris, fled before him to Cork, and the nobles flocked to the standard of the revolt from all sides. All the great Munster names were represented except the Barrys. Desmonds and Butlers, McCarthys, O'Sullivans, O'Donoghues, Condons, etc. The White Knight, the Knight of the Valley, the Knight of Kerry of the Geraldine stock, as well as the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw, and other nobles of Norman descent swelled the gathering when they met at Ballingarry in County Limerick, and ignoring Gerald's son, the young Desmond, who was a prisoner in the Tower of London, chose James, the son of Thomas Ruadh, as their leader.

Thomas Ruadh had consistently supported the Queen in his brother Gerald's rebellion, but had benefited very little by his loyalty, so that his son was ready enough to seize the only chance that appeared of acquiring the Earldom.

This son of his was said to be the handsomest man of his time.[1] He had more power at the outset of his adventure than any of the Earls of Desmond had possessed. Nearly all the nobles and gentlemen of Munster joined him. They were thoroughly discontented. Their lands were held on precarious tenure, owing to the industry of the escheators and others seeking flaws in their titles. Taxes were being levied oppressively, and unless they professed Protestantism, and publicly attended the churches of that denomination, they were harassed with fines and restrictions, whilst they were heavily punished for sheltering priest

[1] Cox.

or friar. All their churches were quietly transferred to Protestant pastors, on the occurrence of any vacancy. The Sugan Earl could assemble 8000 fighting men. (If only Fitzmaurice had had such a chance!)[1]

Ormond was fighting strenuously in Leinster for the Queen, but marched to Munster in pursuit of the O'Mores who were joined by some of his own allies—amongst them O'Dwyer of Kilnemanagh.

These insurgents came in "the first month of the harvest" led by Anthony O'More, Redmond Bourke, and Captain Tyrrell who had inflicted a smart defeat upon the English at the place since known as Tyrrell's Pass.

Besides the O'Dwyers, they were joined by the son of McBrien of Coonagh, the O'Ryans, etc.

On Ormond's arrival in Munster he wrote to the Sugan Earl from his camp at Cowlin (Cullen?) on October 5, warning him to desist from his rebellion, and reminding him of the fate of his predecessor. He also desired the Earl to come to him to discuss his grievances "if you have anie", and offered safe-conduct.

James replied setting forth his own services and those of his father against Earl Gerald, and his bad treatment in connection with his claim to the Earldom.

[1] When O'Neill created James, Earl of Desmond, the Irish dubbed him "Sugan" or, as it were "makeshift" Earl, owing to his father's failure to secure the title, and his own creation by a native chieftain. A "sugan" is a rope of hay or straw, used in the meadows to this day in lieu of the regular hempen article.

"Ever since my uncle's" (Gerald's) "decease, I could get no hearing concerning my inheritance of the Earldom of Desmond, but" (they) "have bestowed the same upon divers undertakers to disinherit me for ever."

He then went on to complain of the persecution and even the execution of many gentlemen of the province on false accusations, furnishing examples by name, and summarises thus:

"To be brief with Your Lordship, Englishmen were not contented to have our lands and living, but unmercifully to seek our lives by false and sinister means under colour of law; and as for my part I will prevent it as best I may."

Ormond and Norris united their forces but found their opponents so strong that they were compelled to fall back upon Mallow, pursued to the very gates by the Irish, offering battle. The whole of the open country fell into the hands of the latter. Woe to any man who wore hose or breeches after the English fashion. He was fair game for the whole countryside. The undertakers found themselves surrounded by triumphant foes. They fled for their lives, leaving castles, munitions, and cattle to the Irish.

"Most shamefully forsaken," says Ormond. In seventeen days they were completely cleared out, except from Castlemaine, Askeaton, and Mallow, in the rural parts, and the original owners or their representatives, had taken back their lands. Eighteen hundred of the undertakers are said to have passed through Waterford on their way to England. Amongst them was Spenser whose castle

at Kilcolman had been burnt, one of his children being killed in this affair. He never came back; dying in poverty at Bristol a year or two afterwards. His children returned, however, and their descendants long remained in Munster.

In the North Hugh O'Neill had beaten the English in the pitched battle of the Yellow Ford. He had been trained in England as a makeweight and rival to Shane O'Neill's heirs, and created Earl of Tyrone. He had lived in Leicester's household and learnt something of military affairs. So good a judge as King Henry of Navarre thought him the third soldier in Europe. When he came over to Ireland to take up his inheritance, a love affair first occupied his time. Its course did not run smoothly. Its object, Mabel Bagenal, was the sister of Sir Henry Bagenal, the commander of the English army in Ulster. The latter was infuriated at the idea of an alliance with this Irishman, who had been married already and divorced, and against whose father some strain of illegitimacy was alleged. But these considerations did not weigh too much with the lady, who eloped with the handsome and gifted Irish chieftain.

Bagenal swore vengeance and eagerly sought the opportunity of leading the Northern army against his foe, now in open revolt. They met at the Yellow Ford where a total defeat was inflicted on Bagenal's army, and he himself slain.

These events made O'Neill the foremost man in Ireland, and were the real inspiration of the Munster revolt.

Elizabeth took prompt measures. She sent

2000 soldiers as a reinforcement to Munster, superseded Ormond in the chief command, and sent over the Earl of Essex as Lord Deputy with more troops in May 1599.

In the meantime O'More and Redmond Bourke, having roused Munster, returned to Leinster to continue the war there. O'Neill sent his own son to replace them. The President, Norris, made some attempts to attack the Irish, but was usually defeated with loss. Thomas Bourke, a brother of the Lord of Castleconnell, attacked some castles held by the English party in Muskry Quirke, during the spring of 1599. Norris hastened to their relief with cavalry and guns. He pursued the retreating Thomas, and overtook him at Kilteely[1] near Pallasgrean. Bourke seeing his forces outnumbered, attempted to retire, but Norris attacked his rear, whereupon he faced about and charged his opponents. In the conflict John Bourke, a Connaught gentleman, drove a spear through Norris's helmet, wounding him under the jaw. The spear-point remained in the wound. The English seeing their leader fall abandoned the field. Norris was conveyed to the neighbourhood of Kilmallock, where he died six weeks afterwards. He had 1200 men against Bourke's 200.

About this time, too, the Irish were much heartened by the battle of the Curlew Mountains where O'Donnell overthrew and slew Sir Clifford Conyers, the English governor.

Essex made a two months' truce with O'Neill,

[1] "ad Kilthielam" (O'Sullivan).

and then marched for Munster with 8000 men. He had not much success. He took the Castle of Cahir, County Tipperary, and then proceeded to the relief of Askeaton, harassed all the way by the troops of the Sugan Earl who hung upon his flanks. He returned after the relief of Askeaton, through Kilmallock, Mallow, Fermoy, and Waterford to Leinster, with much depleted forces, meeting with little success on the way. He next went to the North, where he accomplished very little, and thence to England to his condemnation and death.

On June 15, 1599, he wrote a description of the whole position to the Queen. He summarises this in the last paragraph of his letter.

" Now if it pleases Your Majesty to compare your Advantages and Disadvantages together, you shall find that though these Rebels are more in number than Your Majesty's Army and have (though I do unwillingly confess it) better Bodies and perfecter use of their arms than those which Your Majesty sends over; yet Your Majesty commanding the walled Towns, Holds and Champion Countries, and having a brave Nobility and Gentry, a better Discipline, and stronger order than they, and such means to keep from them the maintenance of their Life, and to waste the Countrey which should nourish them, Your Majesty may promise yourself that this action will in the end be successful though costly, and that your Victory will be certain, though many of us your honest Servants must sacrifice ourselves in the Quarrel, and that the Kingdom will be reduced,

though it will ask (besides Cost) a great deal of Care, Industry and Time."

The wasting of the Irish lands with fire and sword so as to starve the people, and the superior discipline of the English were powerful factors in the struggle, but it is at least doubtful, if they would have proved decisive, if the tendency to rivalry and dissension which seems inherent in the Irish character had not asserted itself, and been skilfully manipulated by an able and unscrupulous captain who is soon to appear upon the scene.

MARCH OF O'NEILL

In January 1600, Hugh O'Neill and Maguire marched for Munster to aid and encourage the insurgents. They first came to the abbey of Holycross, and thence to Cashel where they met the Sugan Earl. Afterwards they crossed the Suir, came to Cnamhcoill (Corroge, near Tipperary), and proceeded along by Slievenamuck and the continuing mountain-ranges to Fermoy and the Barry's country, which they preyed and burned as Lord Barrymore refused to join them. Thence O'Neill went to Bandon district and all the McCarthys came in and submitted except the Lord of Muskerry (Blarney district). O'Sullivan Beare did not come in at this time either.

Maguire had gone to attack the Barry country near Kinsale with a small detachment. On his return, leaving his main party behind in a camp to guard his booty, he hastened to rejoin O'Neill, but Sir Warham St. Leger, who had heard of his

expedition, set forth from Cork with some armour-clad cavalry to intercept him on his return. The two parties charged each other at sight and the leaders met in fierce combat. St. Leger was struck with a mace and killed by Maguire, whom he had mortally wounded by a pistol-shot. The loss of this latter gallant fighter was a severe blow to the Irish cause.

O'Neill having reorganised the Munster resistance marched back to the north, evading the English forces on his way.

Meantime Elizabeth had appointed Mountjoy as Deputy, on the recall of Essex, and sent over George Carew with nearly as full powers in his own district, as President of Munster.

GEORGE CAREW

The book entitled *Pacata Hibernia* is a well-known record of the happenings of the years from 1600 to 1603. It was not written by George Carew. Its author was one Thomas Stafford, who states, however, in the Introduction that it was " composed while the Actions were fresh in the memories of men, by the Direction and appoyntment of the Right Honourable Earle of Totnes (late deceased) then Lord President of Mounster." That is to say, Carew.

Stafford goes on to tell us that it was composed at first for Carew's private information, and secondly as an assistance towards a General History of Ireland, but was held back by Carew out of his " retyred Modestie ", and left

amongst his papers which were bequeathed to Stafford.

Why Carew's editor should be proud of his hero's deeds, or why Carew himself should have withheld the book lest he might appear to glorify himself, passes understanding. For though it certainly exhibits him as a triumphant captain in the field, and a successful, if ruthless governor in Council, it also, in the relation of his methods, attributes lying, treachery, forgery, and the subornation of assassins to him—nay, even takes an ingenuous pride in his use of these wretched weapons.

But let readers judge for themselves. Mountjoy and Carew came over to Ireland after Easter 1600. Ormond met them in Dublin. Carew returned with him to Kilkenny, and accompanied him to a parley with Anthony O'More, at Ballyragget, eight miles away.

Ormond desiring to see Father Luke Archer, the latter was brought to him, whereupon he fell to reproaching him as a traitor. The Irish were angered and seized Ormond. Carew escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

Had he not done so it is probable that subsequent history would have to be written very differently.

Ormond grew to be very friendly with Father Archer in his captivity, and became a Catholic. He was subsequently ransomed, but his part in Irish affairs was played.

Carew proceeded to Munster to take over his Presidency. He had been master of the ordnance

and was skilful in the use of the artillery of the time, now coming more and more into use.

About this time bows and arrows were becoming obsolete as military weapons. In 1585, for example, each company raised in England had ten archers whose buff jerkins cost 22s. 6d. apiece. In 1595 there were no archers provided.[1] At the battle of the Curlew Mountains in 1599, many bowmen appear to have fought on the Irish side. There were few or none on the side of the English. The latter had a number of musketeers and a larger number of billmen in each company, and the military estimates of the time provided for cuirasses and headpieces as armour.[2]

The promoters of the second Desmond rebellion held nearly all the castles in Munster and trusted largely to their strength. But this availed little in the long run against the heavy ordnance and the constant supplies of munitions which the English were able to obtain. In the presence of such weapons, castles were little better than traps for their comparatively small guards. The record of the second Desmond rebellion is largely one of successful sieges of castles by the English, with which the story of Aherlow is not concerned. At first, however, Carew had not organised his artillery service, and found himself helpless and confined to the towns, in presence of a foe superior in numbers.

He was driven to adopt other methods of attack.

[1] *C.S.P.* Domestic. November 15-26, 1595.

[2] Crossbows were used for the last time at the siege of Rochelle in the reign of James I.

The first was legitimate enough. It was to endeavour to weaken the Irish, by detaching some of the Sugan Earl's supporters by cajolery or threats. The next was to capture the Earl by wile or snare of a treacherous kind. A third practice of his was to arrange for the assassination of his opponents. This may seem incredible but the evidence is strong. As we shall see he procured an attempt, on the part of one Nugent, to assassinate the Sugan Earl and his brother; worse still there are to be found in the Carew papers letters showing that he commissioned an emissary named Blake, at one time, to proceed to Spain with the purpose of assassinating Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who had gone there after the battle of Kinsale. O'Donnell died in Spain a month or two after Blake's arrival—" probably poisoned " thinks Froude. With good reason, for when Blake returned he wrote Carew that he had poisoned the Irish chieftain.

There is another disreputable story concerned with the escape of one Anias from the Tower of London—a mock stage-managed affair—and his attempt to poison Florence McCarthy, the subtlest of Carew's opponents. To his credit, be it noted that Cecil indignantly disclaimed all connection with this business. " Would not poison even a dog." George was not so squeamish. Where his *Pacata* refers to any of these matters it does so with complacency.

His first effort, on a hint from Elizabeth, was an endeavour to detach the Geraldine White Knight and the Condons from the Sugan Earl's cause.

The estates of these had been exempted from the great Desmond confiscation, and Carew's efforts met with success in the long run, though not at once.

THE PLOTS

Carew, casting his eyes around for instruments for his disgraceful schemes found two.

His excuse for his plans is that, with the aid of their Connaught allies the insurgents were masters in the field, and that the cities and towns, which otherwise might be used as strongholds, were so " besotted and bewitched with the Popish Priests, Iesuites and seminaries " (*sic*) " that for feare of their Cursings and Excommunications, they are ready upon everie small occasion to rise in Armes . . . and minister all under-hande, ayde and succour to the Rebells ".

Which excuse is given here for what it is worth. Impliedly, it means that inferiority of force justifies any vile device to balance the deficit.

The Earl's brother, John, at this time held the castle of Lough Gur, near Bruff, which Carew approached with a strong force with the intention of assaulting it.

Finding, however, that it was likely to offer a stout resistance, he determined to rid himself of his opponent by other means.

He found an instrument to hand in a man named Nugent, who had been a servant of Sir Thomas Norris, the late President of Munster (slain at Kilteely), but who had complained of some wrongs and grievances, and joined the insurgents. After a

time he repented of this action, and decided to submit to the new President. He made overtures to that effect.

His submission was refused unless he undertook to do some extraordinary service to the State. If he would do this, the President told him that he would receive " some store of Crownes " as well. And then this precious pair evolved their plot. Nugent was publicly scolded and berated, and informed that only for the Queen's word having been pledged, there would have been no pardon for him. He was then dismissed in apparent disgrace. Thereupon he joined John of Desmond at Lough Gur.

He is described as "so valiant and daring that he did not feare anything".

John had succeeded in holding the castle of Lough Gur against the threatened attack, but the captain in command of the castle, which lay on the shore of an island, yielded it to Carew for a bribe of £50. John still held the rest of the island, however, but, on the loss of the castle, determined to withdraw to Aherlow. Nugent was in Desmond's train with one John Coppinger, whose aid he thought he had secured.

He had a pistol loaded with two bullets, and fell behind a little, intending to shoot his victim in the back.

But Coppinger snatched the pistol from him crying, "Treason". Nugent thereupon rode away, but, his horse stumbling, he was captured and satisfactorily hanged. He confessed that it was his intention, if he had succeeded, to ride to the Sugan

Earl with the news of his brother's death, and treat him in the same way.

Though the attempt failed it was so far successful as to sow distrust in the minds of the Geraldine leaders.

Carew says that the Sugan Earl told him long afterwards, that, after this experience they never durst lodge together in one place nor serve at the head of their troops, for fear of being shot by their own men.

The second plot was even more dangerous. Dermot O'Connor, a scion of the house of O'Connor Don, was in command of the Connaught allies sent to help the Munster insurgents. He was a skilful leader, and the chief man in the armies of the Sugan Earl, after the Earl himself.

He had started in life as the owner of two ploughlands, but being one of the most valiant and successful commanders on the Irish side, had attained an important position, and married one of the daughters of the late Earl of Desmond.

This lady was no whole-hearted supporter of the Sugan Earl whose claims were injurious to the rights of her brother, the young prisoner in the Tower of London.

Carew, taking advantage of this situation, opened communications with O'Connor, through his wife, Miler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, helping in the business. O'Connor's wife, apart from her interest in her brother's affairs, had many English connections and associations, having lived in England for some years, whilst her father was a prisoner there.

O'Connor agreed with Carew to betray the Earl into his power, for a thousand pounds, and the command of a company, with other satisfactions to his wife and her brother.

Neither of the rogues trusted the other, and Carew had, in the end, to give as hostages two gentlemen named Power, and two sons of Miler Magrath. With a view to preserve appearances it was arranged that these should fall into O'Connor's hands in a mock ambuscade at Kylemore, the Great Wood, near Kilmallock.

The little scheme was successfully carried out, and the hostages apparently captured and taken to Castlelishen near Dromcolloher.

The Powers, who were enemies of the Earl, were to serve also as a bait to the hook for him.

On learning of the capture of his foes he hastened to meet O'Connor at an appointed place, and to order their execution.

O'Connor ingeniously fomented a dispute between the Earl's followers and his own, and then induced his chief to send away the greater part of his troops for peace sake. Thereupon he seized the Earl and some of his friends " in the name of O'Neill ". As part of the plot he had armed himself with a letter which Carew had written for the purpose. It purported to be addressed from the latter to the Earl in pursuance of some previous private and treacherous understanding by which the Earl was to betray O'Connor. It assumed in the most natural way that he had already betrayed his own castle of Lough Gur.

O'Connor exhibited this precious document [1] to his own and some of the Earl's followers, and they believed that it was genuine. There is little doubt that the plot would have succeeded, but for the mutual distrust of the two villains of the piece.

O'Connor had insisted on Carew's remaining at Kilmallock with his forces. He now seized on Ballyallinan Castle, belonging to the Earl's Marshal, Rory MacSheehy, and removed his hostages there. He sent one of them in hot haste to Kilmallock to convey the news. He did not send the Earl at once, evidently preferring to make sure of his money first.

Carew had been cooling his heels six days in Kilmallock when the messenger arrived. But meantime Desmond's followers had grown suspicious, and were joined by Con O'Neill, and many gentlemen of the Connaught forces. They swarmed like angry bees round Castle Lishen and attacked it. O'Connor's men at length surrendered the Earl, not a moment too soon as Carew had determined to march from Kilmallock.

To get to Castle Lishen, he would now have to cut his way through 4000 men, only to find his prisoner flown. But O'Connor's wife met him with the news before he had proceeded more than a mile and a half on his way. And so nothing but the pieces were left of the elaborate plot.

The wonder is not that men like O'Connor and Nugent existed. Treacherous persons of the kind appear in all countries in all ages. But it is

[1] Proudly given in full in *Pacata Hibernia* "as the contents thereof doe manifest the Invention".

astonishing that Carew preserves and furnishes the proofs of his own duplicity apparently without the slightest sense of its disreputable nature. Indeed, he seems rather to plume himself upon his cleverness in these matters. This one fact goes far to explain the recurrence of these Irish insurrections. If this were the moral atmosphere in which their governors lived and breathed, there was neither safety nor honour for any of the Irish-born except in revolt. Even if they lost, they lost at least and died like soldiers, whilst if they submitted they lived like slaves.

To their credit be it said that no such plots or treacherous subornings to betrayal or assassination are laid to their charge, even by the most hostile historians. These things were a monopoly of their English rulers.

Indeed one of the most extraordinary things in the history of these times is the manner in which the reputations of these gallant adventurers and fighters on the English side (contemporaries of the youthful Shakespere, and inheritors of the "spacious days" as they were) seem to shrink whenever their owners touch the Irish soil. We have seen the record of Essex—one of the most liberal—and Carew. Here is a note about Raleigh (about 1580):

"The Deputy" (Grey) ". . . discamped from Rakele" (Rathkeale) "and marched towards the enemy" (in Smerwick Fort) "but Captain Rawleigh, well knowing the customs of the Irish stayed some hours behind in ambush, till several kearns came into the forsaken camp, as they were

accustomed to scrape up what was left behind, but he surprised them all, and punished them according to their Desserts." [1]

Legitimate war no doubt. But one cannot help thinking that it would not have dimmed the lustre of Raleigh's splendid reputation if he had passed those starving rapscallions by, and allowed them to glean in peace. But in Ireland, as if by the action of some malignant spell, cruelty and greed smothered the better faculties of these great men. Even the gentle Spenser got three different grants on Desmond lands on condition that no Irish were to be settled on them. Not his to consider what was to become of the previous holders.

These English adventurers had all the advantages of supply on their sides. They were always well furnished with arms and munitions, and even food when required, from England by sea, whilst their opponents had only such guns and gunpowder as they could import by stealth, and only such food as they could harvest and store from battle-torn and devastated districts.

Perhaps the above story may not be well founded, though it is not derived from the authority of any Irish writer. One can only hope it is not true. Raleigh's friends deny that he was present at the Smerwick massacre at all. Be that as it may, his stay and deeds in Ireland add very little brightness to his record.

[1] Cox, vol. i. p. 367.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION

Carew had now organised his forces and his moveable artillery, and began to attack the castles held by the Irish. They proved useless to their defenders when attacked with cannon. The story of one is the story of all. Carew arrived before a castle. If the garrison surrendered they might escape with their lives. If they proved obstinate a gallows was erected in their sight and fire opened from the heavy guns at a safe distance. This brought the walls tumbling about the ears of the garrison who were compelled to surrender, and usually hanged on the gallows so thoughtfully provided. Several minor engagements having taken place the castles of Cahir and Glin were surrendered or captured.

And then on September 16, 1600, word was brought to Sir George Thornton, who was in garrison at Kilmallock with four companies of foot and a troop of horse, that the "rebells James Fitz-Thomas" (the Earl) "and his complices" were to pass on that day from Conniloe to the huge "Fastnesse" of Aherloghe, whereupon he sallied forth, and 120 of the "Rebells were slain and fourscore wounded in the encounter that followed".

This defeat appears to have wrecked the Sugan Earl's fortunes finally. From this forward, he was a hunted outlaw moving from refuge to refuge with a few followers. Most of the other Munster leaders either submitted, or went to Ulster to join O'Neill and O'Donnell.

The armies of all these encounters were very small. There were often less than 1000 men available in the actual combat on either side. This is explained by the difficulty of providing food, munitions, and transport for large moveable forces.

Even at Kinsale, which was an epoch-making battle, the actual numbers engaged were about 6000 or 7000 on each side excluding the Spaniards who held the town.

When the Earl's troops got to the wood of Aherlow after his defeat by Thornton, they seem to have dispersed. He himself withdrew into the country of Ormond.

" The beggerly Earl, in the meantime lurked in the woods, with some two or three in his company," according to *Pacata Hibernia*, " sometimes in Arlogh, sometimes in Drumfinnin, but most in the Countie of Typperarie, where he had much kindred by the mother's side."

In November Carew, having burnt all the " houses and corne and taken great Preyes in Owny Mulryan and Kilquig " (Kilhoogge) " a strong and fast country not farre from Limerick " diverted his forces into East Clanwilliam and Muskry Quirke, where Pierce Lacy had lately been succoured (Pierce, once of Bruff), " and harassing the countrey, killed all mankind that were found therein, for a terrour to those as should giue Reliefe to Runnagate traitours. Thence we came into Arloghe Woods where we did the like, not leaving behind us man or beast, corne or cattle except such as had been conveied into castles."

The Bourkes and Briens submitted on their knees according to this account.[1]

In this raid the Sugan Earl and the Pope's Bishop of Cork were nearly captured. The bishop's name was McCarthy.

It was some time before this that Carew, in pursuit of his tortuous policy, bethought him that it would be a good thing if the young Desmond Gerald's son, were released from the Tower and sent over to Ireland to detach the followers of the Sugan Earl.

With much misgiving the Privy Council had acceded to this suggestion and sent young Desmond over in October (1600) with a patent of his Earldom, which, however, was to be carefully reserved according to private instructions, until it became apparent how the project was likely to result.

Indeed Carew was definitely informed that if he found it necessary to "abridge" anything, his action would have the support of the Queen.

They did not want another Hugh O'Neill, evidently. However, their fears were unnecessary.

The young Earl came to Cork and went thence to Kilmallock into which he rode on one Saturday evening. On one side of him rode Miler Magrath, who had been over in London to answer some of the charges so frequently made against him. On the other side was Richard Boyle, a clerk to the Council, whose instructions simply created him a spy on young Desmond's actions.

The career of this adventurer is so extraordinary

[1] *Pacata Hib.*

that it may be justifiable to break the thread of the narrative for a while here to glance at his record.

RICHARD BOYLE

Boyle[1] was a lawyer in the Inns at London. Seemingly he did not make much of a success of it there, for in 1588 he came to Ireland to improve his fortune. He lists his whole possessions at this time as £27: 3: 0 in money; two tokens which his mother had given him, viz. a diamond ring and a bracelet of gold worth about ten pounds, a taffety doublet cut with and upon taffety, two cloaks, competent linen and necessaries, a rapier and a dagger.

Apart from the arms a good-sized carpet-bag would have held all his worldly estate. Long afterwards he was charged with forging a letter of recommendation at this time.

He admitted that a forged letter had been delivered on his behalf, but said that he was not privy to it. Anyhow he was appointed deputy-escheator. Davies, with a special eye towards Boyle, writes scathingly about these escheators. In substance he describes them as blackmailers on a grand scale.

In 1597 Boyle was committed to the Irish Marshalsea on a charge of stealing a horse and jewel. Including the charge of forgery alluded to, there were three other indictments against him. Two out of the four were " found ". Dean states that he got £20 from him not to prosecute. Boyle

[1] Gilson's *History of Cork*, vol. ii. p. 20, etc.

obtained a Crown pardon—a purchasable thing in those days. We next see him as a council clerk and spy at Kilmallock with his notebook. In 1602 he entered into an arrangement with Sir Walter Raleigh by which the latter conveyed to him all his rights in the Lismore and Youghal districts, which included the ownership of 42,000 acres of the confiscated Desmond estates.

Boyle has incurred scornful comment from contemporary writers on his acquisition of this property, but their conclusion that he acquired immense wealth by directly irregular means may not be quite true. It is more likely either that he took advantage of Raleigh's necessity to buy the property for a trifle, or else that it was handed over in some sort of secret trust. For Raleigh feared attainder at the time, and was anxious to convey or mortgage his Irish property, lest it might be confiscated.

At any rate, after his death his widow and surviving son made claims against Boyle. The latter's letter in reply is a curiously unconvincing document. He says that he paid 1000 crowns in gold to Raleigh when the latter was a prisoner in the Tower, though he might have purchased the property then confiscated for 500 crowns. He then sued out a release from the King at a cost of £200. It cost him £2700 to free the lands from prior claims and charges. Raleigh, being ultimately released after a long imprisonment, called at Ireland when setting out on his last voyage, and the visit cost Boyle 1000 marks in money and supplies given to the voyagers. So much was

Raleigh affected by his generosity that he took his own son (dead at the time when Boyle wrote, and therefore no longer available as witness) by the hand and told him that he laid his curse upon his wife and children if they should ever question any of the purchases that Boyle had made.

We have Boyle's own evidence for this affecting story. But it lacks verisimilitude somehow, even though he says that several noblemen and gentlemen were present. Strafford made him pay £15,000 for one minor item of the property thus conveyed to which the title was not clear. Out of all its profits he bought other property far and wide in Munster and accumulated vast wealth. He is said to have made £100,000 out of iron ores alone.

In any case, all that Raleigh ever received for this vast estate was only a few thousand crowns even on Boyle's own showing. And Boyle's statement says nothing of any concession to Raleigh's widow and orphan.

Owing to his huge possessions, he soon became a leading figure in Munster. He was created Earl of Cork, and even dubbed "the Great". He endowed colleges and almshouses, and raised a regiment from his tenants, 1300 strong and Protestant to a man, which took part in the struggle under Charles I. and the Commonwealth. He backed the latter, and Cromwell praised him highly.

Amongst the properties acquired by his deal with Raleigh was the castle of Lismore. It had formerly belonged to the bishops of that diocese,

but Miler Magrath, before resigning that bishopric in 1588, had managed with the consent of his chapter, whose members were apparently of the same type as himself, to convey it to Raleigh for a rent of £13 : 6 : 8 a year for ever. The archdeacon of this remarkable chapter does not seem to have even been in orders, and several of its members were named Magrath. There were, however, Magraths in Waterford as well as in the north.

Boyle, at a later date, built the greater part of the present splendid castle of Lismore, on the site of the old ecclesiastical building.

His vast property in this district descended at length to an heiress who married into the house of Cavendish in the middle of the eighteenth century, and thus it came into the possession of the Dukes of Devonshire.

But it is difficult in inquiring into the records of these great Elizabethans to avoid the impression that one has strayed into a rogue's gallery by accident.

YOUNG DESMOND AT KILMALLOCK

And so "on a Saturday in the evening" the young Desmond rode into Kilmallock with his sinister escort; the old archbishop of whom no church is proud, on one side clad in mail; on the other the calculating Master Boyle with his spy's notebook.

What followed is so remarkable as to deserve full relation.

At first Carew's plan went well. The people thronged in from all the country-side to see and welcome their chief.

"At their entry into the town there was a mighty concourse of people, insomuch as all the Streets, Doores and Windows, yea, the very Gutters and tops of the Houses were so filled with them, as if they came to see him, whom God had sent to bee that Comfort and Delight their soules and hearts most desired, and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signs of Joy, every one throwing upon him Wheat and Salt (an ancient Ceremony vsed in that Province upon the election of their new Mayors and Officers, as a prediction of future peace and plenty). That night the Earle was invited to supper to Sir George Thornton's, who then kept his house in the Towne of Kilmallock, and though the Earle had a Guarde of Souldiers which made a lane from his lodgings to Sir George Thornton's house, yet the confluence of people that flockt thither to see him was so great, as in halfe an hour he could not make his passage through the crowd; and after supper he had the like encounters at his returne to his lodging."

Assuredly it looks as if Carew's scheme were about to be crowned with success. But let us wait a little.

"The next day being Sunday the Earle went to Church to heare divine Service; and all the way his Countrey people vsed loud and rude dehortations to keepe him from Church, unto which he lent a deafe eare": naturally enough with the spy at his side, and Miler awaiting him; "but after

Service and the Sermon was ended, the Earle coming forth of the Church was railed at and spet upon by those that before his going to Church were so desirous to see and salute him; insomuch as after that publike expression of his Religion the Towne was cleared of all that Multitude of Strangers and the Earle from thenceforward, might walk as quietly and freely in the Towne, as little in effect followed and regarded as any other private Gentlemen."

"If hee had been a Romish Catholike" continues our authority [1] "the hearts and knees of all degrees in the Province would have bowed unto him."

Just so. Carew overlooked the fact that the political and religious quarrels had become fused into one. All the Protestants strenuously supported Elizabeth's government. All the Catholics, or nearly all, were opposed to it.

And as regards the youthful Desmond how could it fall out otherwise?

This eaglet was caged until his wings had grown feeble and his sight dim. He had been seventeen years in prison. He had the "freedom of the Tower"—which probably meant some permission to walk through its courtyards or round its walls. Many records of purchases of drugs and medicines for his use, exist. And a surgeon was paid £2 a quarter to attend to his health. At first, doubtless, he would have remembered the smell of the turf-smoke of the Kerry shielings, and the sound of the wild surges breaking on the rocky shores,

[1] *Pacata Hibernia.*

and pined for the free air of the hills, but he must have grown accustomed to his grim surroundings as he weakened in this close confinement, so that when the cage opened and he came into the free sunlight again he must have felt lost and dazed.

What flight in any direction could be hoped for from such an eaglet? Especially as he was leashed to the wrists of the worldly old archbishop, and the Council spy, ever meditating projects for his own advancement.

Carew was certainly more sanguine than astute in this venture. Young Desmond induced one of his followers to hand over the stronghold of Castlemaine to the Queen. Beyond that he had not the slightest influence on the situation. His patent of the Earldom was never delivered to him, and he soon returned to England where he died a few months afterwards, not without some suspicion of having been poisoned. But it was an age of suspicion, and it is not difficult to withhold credence from this charge. For it was not worth anybody's while to poison this last of the recognised Geraldine Earls of Desmond.[1]

The Queen was losing money over her Irish wars. They cost her roughly about £200,000 a year whilst the whole revenue of the kingdom was a mere fraction of this. She had written to Carew

[1] Carew's chronicler records his death unemotionally. "The eleventh" (of January 1601) "the Lord President had intelligence from England, that James (the late restored Earle of Desmond) was dead, and that eighteen hundred quarters of Oates were sent into Mounster for the reliefe of our horses."

to disband one company of soldiers so as to provide support for young Desmond and his sisters. Miler Magrath for his services got one-tenth of the amount thus saved. His share came to £121. He was also granted a little matter of forty shillings a week to be provided by stopping the pension of someone else " who is not so necessary to be provided for ".

CAPTURE OF THE SUGAN EARL

On May 4, 1601, the Lord Barry who had now become an active royal partisan, having 100 of the Queen's men came to Garryduff where the Sugan Earl was with two " baldones " (whatever they were), and a harper. His attendants drew off the pursuit until they led the soldiers to the White Knight's country.[1]

The soldiers then informed Lord Barry of what had happened. He being glad of so good a cause of complaint against the White Knight hastened to the President, Carew, with the story.

Thereupon the President sent for the White Knight and rebuked him sharply, reminding him that he was answerable with life and lands for his default in not apprehending the Earl. The White Knight begged for a few days, undertaking to give a good account of Desmond, dead or alive, if he was in that part of the country.

Returning home he offered £50 and a ploughland to any one who would bring him word where

[1] About Kilbehenny and Mitchelstown on the south side of the Galtees.

the Earl was. One of his followers then guided him with a party of six or seven (amongst whom was Redmond Bourke of Muskry Quirke) to a cave in the mountain of "Slew Gort" (Slieve Grot) which had a narrow mouth, yet deep in the ground, "where the Caytiffe Earle accompanied only with one of his foster-brothers was then lurking".

They called on the Earl to come out and he did so, and summoned those present to seize the White Knight, for they were all Desmond liegemen. But they drew swords and seized the Earl, who was taken first to Kilbehenny, and thence to Kilmallock. He was sent to the Tower of London, and died there after seven years' imprisonment. He would admittedly have been executed, were it not that his death would only make way for the succession of an even more irreconcilable brother to the Earldom.[1]

The cave in which he had taken refuge is not that near Kilbehenny so well known to visitors to-day, for the opening to that was only discovered in 1833. There was, however, another extensive cave in the same neighbourhood which was previously often visited, but which seems to have dropped out of notice on the discovery of the more remarkable caves. It was almost certainly here that the Sugan Earl was captured.

The White Knight received £400 for this betrayal. There is a record of the payment of this amount to him, though it is also stated elsewhere that the price of the capture was £1000.

[1] This brother fled to Spain, and died there.

A letter of Carew's reporting this arrest to the Queen is too long to quote in full, but a few extracts may be of interest.

"Sacred and Dread Sovereign", it begins "——never dying prayers for Your Majesty's eternal prosperity. . . . My unfortunate destiny to be deprived from the sight of your Royal Person. . . . I live like one lost to himself and wither out my days in torment of mind."

He begs release from his banishment:

"For better than a banishment I cannot esteem my fortune that deprives me from beholding Your Majesty's person." He has now got "the body of James Fitz Thomas that Arch-Traitor and usurping Earl . . . so doth my heart covet nothing so much as to be ever more attendant on Your Sacred Person accounting it a happiness unto me to die at Your feet"—and here comes the kernel of the thing—"not doubting but that Your Majesty out of your princely and Royal bounty will enable me by some means or other to sustain the rest of my days in Your service; and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver, . . . unworthy Your divine eyes, do kiss the shadows of Your Royal feet".

Perhaps the flattery was laid on a trifle thickly, but George knew his Queen. Elizabeth, of the divine eyes, was sixty-eight years of age, when she had this epistle addressed to her, and she was not exactly a Ninon de l'Enclos. She seems to have required the language of adoration, or of love, from most of her great officers of state. We find Mountjoy writing to her in the following terms:

"I that have suffered for your sake a torment above all others, a grieved and despised love."

Elizabeth, in reply, gently disclaims having given him any cause for such suffering, and rather attributes it to a Providential intervention to prevent him from being too much elated by his successes in his career. She died three months later at the age of seventy.

It is difficult to refrain from smiling at what must have been conscious humbug on both sides. It is probable that Elizabeth had sufficient common sense not to attach too much weight to these artificial rhapsodies. But she liked them all the same, and her clever courtiers knew it.

The English government now decided to debase the Irish coinage. The course had two advantages for them. They made a profit, and provided the Irish with a coinage not very negotiable on the Continent for trade or purchase of munitions of war.

Swift was not born then, and there was no denunciation or Drapier's letters so that the plan was accomplished. It created the greatest discontent amongst traders in towns and oversea, and rendered them disloyal even when their sympathies were entirely with the English otherwise. The discontent is forgotten now. James II. is credited as the originator of debased money in Ireland, in the Orange mind at any rate.

KINSALE

The battle of Kinsale is one of the most curious in history. It was decisive in its results, on Irish

affairs. It ended the struggle, in favour of Elizabeth.

Yet it was won without much effort, and almost without cost on the part of the victors.[1] Again, it is almost impossible to disentangle from the confused accounts any clear idea of what actually took place on this amazing battlefield.

It appears that the King of Spain had yielded at length to the urgent requests of O'Neill and O'Donnell for assistance, and a Spanish fleet arrived off Kinsale towards the end of September 1601 and landed troops who took possession of the town.

Pacata Hibernia gives their numbers as 6000. O'Sullivan states they were 2500 strong.[2]

O'Neill and O'Donnell on hearing of the landing of the Spaniards proceeded to organise their forces for a march through the whole length of Ireland to join them. On the other hand the Deputy, Mountjoy, and Carew assembled all the English forces available (about 7000) at Cork and proceeded towards Kinsale. They were soon reinforced with 2000 recruits from England, and laid formal siege to the place early in October.

According to *Pacata Hibernia* a series of Homeric encounters took place, in which one Englishman

[1] *Pacata Hibernia* gives their losses at one officer killed, three or four wounded, and five or six common soldiers "hurt". The Irish losses are given as 1200 slain and 800 wounded. O'Sullivan and the Four Masters, however, say that the Irish losses were small, the former putting them at 200.

[2] The number captured at Kinsale in the end was 2600.

was usually equal to several Spaniards, and the results were uniformly favourable to the English.

The English fleet certainly destroyed some Spanish ships that had remained when their main fleet had returned home, and the besiegers took two outlying castles which had been garrisoned by the Spaniards, and which overlooked the interior of the town.

O'Neill and O'Donnell were not in whole-hearted accord, though temporarily united against the common enemy. They marched from the north in two distinct divisions, O'Donnell leading by several days. Carew set out with a strong detachment to try to intercept him. The opposing forces approached one another between Cashel and Holycross, but O'Donnell took by night to the Slieve Phelim mountain passes on his right, and by a wonderful forced march reached the plains of Limerick and got to Croom without a pause.

Carew hastened after him along the plains but failing to overtake him, returned to Kinsale.

O'Donnell reached Bandon early in November, where he found that the Spaniards had sent a further expedition, variously estimated at from 200 to 2000 men, which had landed at Castlehaven, some thirty miles west of Kinsale.[1]

To these the local Irish chiefs gave over their sea-coast castles at several places, including Dunboy and Baltimore. O'Sullivan Beare and many other Irish chieftains joined O'Donnell and proceeded to harass the English, cutting off their supplies of food and fodder by land, so that they

[1] They were 600 strong at the surrender.

were dependent upon precarious supplies by sea. In addition they suffered much from exposure to the wintry weather, so that when the arrival of O'Neill tightened up the blockade, the English were in perilous straits. They are said to have lost half the number of their forces and those of their allies by hardship and pestilence during this siege. For important Irish forces had joined them under McCarthy of Muskerry and McCarthy Reagh, but these were not very reliable allies. It is said[1] that the English had altogether 15,000 men at the beginning of the siege, and of these 8000 had succumbed to hunger, cold, and pestilence. It seems probable that the Irish could have won a decisive victory merely by continuing their blockading tactics. This was the opinion of O'Neill, who knew something of warfare. The English were actually planning to send their horses away, being unable to feed them. But the Spanish commander, Don Juan d'Aguila, was persistent in his demands for assistance, and for definite action on the part of the Irish.

These held a Council, at which O'Donnell urged that the English should be attacked as he felt it shameful to appear to desert the Spaniards even for a time.

O'Neill opposed the project, but was outvoted by O'Donnell and the hot-headed members of the Council.

It was then decided that a surprise attack should be attempted by night on the English entrenched position. The Irish were to advance in their two

[1] *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, Father Murphy, p. 140.

divisions led by O'Neill and O'Donnell, and the Spaniards were to sally out of Kinsale, so as to catch the besiegers between two fires.

The Irish plans went awry from the first. Carew says that they were betrayed to the English by one Bryan Mahon, a member of the Council of War—if one could hang a dog on Carew's evidence. The Irish went astray in the darkness so that O'Neill's division only arrived before the English lines at dawn, to find the whole English army drawn up in readiness, whilst O'Donnell was still wandering amongst the bogs and morasses in the rear.

O'Neill's troops advanced to the banks of a small stream beyond which the English were in position. Seeing that they were more numerous, as well as far better armed and disciplined, O'Neill's men began to retire to join with O'Donnell. The English encouraged by this, sent cavalry in pursuit across the stream with some infantry in support. The Irish seem to have been quite untrained to sustain cavalry attacks in the open. They fell into disorder, and the retreat soon became a rout, in which they hardly offered any resistance. O'Donnell arriving just then merely added to the confusion, and a general flight ensued. The Irish losses would have been far heavier if the weakness and exhaustion of the English had not prevented any vigorous pursuit.

Few battles were more decisive in Irish history than this. It laid Ireland prostrate at the feet of Elizabeth and led ultimately to the exile of the

leading Irish chieftains, and the confiscation and plantation of Ulster.

It was won by no profound military skill, though Mountjoy and Carew were quite equal to the exercise of such, if required. But the apples almost fell into their mouths for the shaking of the tree. The truth is that Don Juan d'Aguila should never have been sent as commander. He was a noble and high-minded Spanish gentleman, and doubtless brave enough, if only his own life were concerned, but his querulous demands for help at all costs for his beleaguered force were in strong contrast to the characteristic pluck and tenacity of the English; qualities which have so often brought them out of tight places, and helped to set them where they are.

Nor is it possible to dwell with any satisfaction on the management of the Irish part of the enterprise. It was marked by the usual discord, and by incompetent execution even of the doubtful plan adopted.

Don Juan held out for a few weeks, at length obtaining terms providing that he and all his soldiers with their arms should be conveyed to Spain, on the surrender of Kinsale. The agreement was signed on January 2, 1602. Don Juan on his arrival in Spain was put in prison by the King because of his conduct of this affair and died there.

He appears to have been as poor a judge of character as of military affairs. He told Godolphin that he found the Lord Deputy an honourable enemy, and that the Irish were not only

weak and barbarous, but, as he feared, perfidious friends.

His master did not find the Irish barbarous or perfidious. He always welcomed and sheltered them.

As to Don Juan's view of Mountjoy, the following story from *Pacata Hibernia* is illuminative of its worth.

About the tenth of February a Spanish pinnace landed a messenger from the King of Spain in Western Munster with letters for Don Juan.

Now the latter had grown to be very friendly with Mountjoy and Carew, dining with them on the day of the surrender, and frequently afterwards, so that they could not seize on his letters with any decency. Yet Mountjoy's heart, we are told, itched to have the letters in his hands, and he asked Carew to arrange for their interception if he could "hansomely do it". Carew sent the captain of his foot company to ambush the messenger and rob him of the letters.

The plan succeeded, and the letters arrived at dinner time, Don Juan being at the dinner ("if I doe not mistake"). Of course, he knew nothing of their arrival. Some time later his messenger arrived too, complaining that he had been robbed by soldiers.

Don Juan went angrily to complain to Mountjoy. The latter seemed "no lesse sorry"; suggested that there were wicked soldiers in all armies, but for his part rather deemed it to be the work of local thieves. If done by soldiers they

were probably Irish who wanted to sell the papers to their rebellious friends.

Don Juan was dissatisfied with this audacious lying, and asked Mountjoy to inquire of Carew if he knew anything about the business.

Mountjoy made the inquiry and told the poor dupe " upon his faith " that he was sure Carew had not got the letters.

" Which hee might well do " adds our writer " for they were in his owne possession." A proclamation offering reward and pardon to any one who would discover the thieves completed the farce. (The whole story is told with pride in *Pacata Hibernia*.)

But fraud and lying were small matters compared to some other acts of Carew and Mountjoy.

O'Donnell left for Spain to renew negotiations with that power, and implore the aid of the King, immediately after the fall of Kinsale.

This gave great uneasiness to Carew and Mountjoy. The former wrote to the latter on May 28, 1602, to the effect that one Blake of Galway seeking a protection, had come to Cork. He took a solemn oath to " do service " that should merit good opinion and reward. Carew " applauded his enterprise " whereupon he left for Spain with a determination (bound with many oaths) " to kill O'Donnell. . . . God give him strength and perseverance. . . . I told him that I would acquaint your Lordship with it " but no other.

Blake succeeded only too well. O'Donnell

appears to have been duly poisoned, dying on September 10.

On October 9, Carew wrote again to Mountjoy informing him that O'Donnell was dead.

"And I do think it will fall out that he is poisoned by James Blake of whom your Lordship hath been formerly acquainted."

At his first arrival in Spain he was suspected by O'Donnell, but afterwards he "insinuated his access, and O'Donnell is dead".[1]

Boyle rushed off instantly with the news of the fall of Kinsale, to London. It was so welcome there that the Queen received him before rising, in her bedroom, at seven o'clock in the morning.

And well it may have been. The crisis was the most threatening one that had occurred in Ireland since Fitzmaurice's invasion, and with all due credit to the military and political skill of Mountjoy and Carew, they owed much to the chances that led their opponents to attempt the rash surprise.

MARCH OF O'SULLIVAN BEARE

The second detachment of Spaniards was posted on its arrival in various strongholds of the Irish chieftains along the sea-coast. These included Castlehaven, Baltimore and the Castle of Berehaven, or rather Dunboy.

Don Juan included these places in his surrender, but the Irish owners of two of them refused to

[1] The original letters written partly in a simple cipher are given at pp. 149 and 150 of Father Murphy's *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell.*

recognise his right to do so, and they seized Castlehaven and Dunboy by force or stratagem.

So that the English were driven to send expeditions for the recapture of these and other castles of the kind. Castlehaven was commanded easily from the sea and being invested by land as well, surrendered on the appearance of a fleet.

O'Sullivan Beare's castle of Dunboy was much more difficult of approach, and stood a regular siege of which Carew, through *Pacata Hibernia*, says "so obstinate and resolved a defence hath not been seen within this Kingdom ".

Carew landed his men, however, behind a hillock which protected them from the castle fire, and entrenching them there, set up his batteries to blow the castle defences into ruin. It was attacked by the ships at the same time.

It was captured after a desperate attempt of its captain, McGeoghegan (who was mortally wounded) to blow up the whole fortress, when the besiegers rushed in, by thrusting a lighted torch into a barrel of gunpowder.

He was killed just as he was about to effect his purpose. Of the 143 defenders, every man was killed or executed.

O'Sullivan Beare, the chieftain of this country, could expect no mercy, after the fall of Kinsale, and his castle of Dunboy, for he had been a very vigorous rebel, and much of his correspondence with Spain had been captured. He, therefore, collected all his people and made a wonderful march in the effort to reach O'Neill in Tyrone, at the other end of Ireland.

They started 400 strong, not counting women and children (600), and had to fight almost every step of their way to the far-off Shannon River.

They were first attacked by the loyal Barrys of Buttevant and others, and were forced to cut their way through. From Buttevant they came to a vast solitude (woods probably) " near Aharla ", and next day arrived at Kilnemanagh Wood [1] near Dundrum fighting for eight hours, having refreshed themselves before sunrise, with pulse and water.[2]

They made their way towards Donohill, where they broke into the old castle on top of the mote, and took what food they could find there—even to the horse fodder.

Still fighting every inch of the way they came to the Shannon. There they killed some of their horses and made eleven boats out of osiers, covered with horse hides.

Passing through Connaught they were attacked at Aughrim by a large force under Captain Malbey and Sir Thomas Bourke, both of whom they slew. Breaking through they ultimately reached safety with O'Rourke in Leitrim, but the party of 1000 which had started was reduced to 35.

If only a little of their valour and determination had been shown at Kinsale, the histories of Ireland, and of England too, would have had to be written far differently, but lost chances rarely return.

O'Sullivan Beare went to Spain and was assassinated there in 1618 under somewhat obscure

[1] The Four Masters say they came to Sologhead.

[2] " leguminibus et aqua." O'Sullivan.

circumstances. Some authorities say, in a brawl, others that he was killed by his own servant, as he was returning from Mass, whilst there are not wanting suggestions (probably unfounded, but not unnatural having regard to other attempts) that the murder was instigated by the English government.

Carew went to England soon and was made a baron. He stood high in the favour of James I. and Charles I., by the latter of whom he was created Earl of Totnes. He was head of the Commission for the Plantation of Ulster in 1611, and died in 1629. He is credited by tradition with the persecution of the priest-historian, Geoffrey Keating.

The latter, who took part in the building of the little church at Tubrid, near Cahir, where he was curate, is said to have denounced the loose living of one of his female parishioners. She appealed to one of her powerful friends for protection.

It is quite possible, however, that this was not Carew. The slight tradition associating his name with the business is unsupported by any direct evidence.

At any rate this magnate, whoever he was, set the law in motion against Keating—an easy thing to do then, against any priest, and the latter fled for shelter to the fastnesses of the glen of Aherlow, where he spent his leisure in enriching Irish literature with his most valuable *History of Ireland*. This will always be associated with the famous "glen" on that account, though no traditions of his residence there seem to be now traceable amongst its people.

FROM THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH TO THE CROMWELLIAN CONFISCATION

Queen Elizabeth died in 1603. She had found a very Irish Ireland. She left it largely anglicised in its customs and its laws.

Her " black husband ", Ormond, survived her for thirteen years. He had but one child, a daughter, who was married in his lifetime to a spendthrift favourite of King James, Richard Preston, Baron Dingwall. On this occasion the Earldom of Desmond was conferred upon the latter—not altogether unsuitably, perhaps, because his bride was the grand-daughter of that Countess, Joan of Desmond, of whom we have heard so much.

It is true that the brother of the Sugan Earl had escaped to the Continent, and he and his descendants were recognised as " Condes " of Desmond there, but such titles were not acknowledged in England, and, in any case, the race soon died out.

Upon Ormond's death his title went to his nephew, a devout Catholic, styled Earl Walter of the Rosaries. The bulk of the great Ormond estates should have gone to him too, but his claims were hotly contested by the new Earl of Desmond who was strenuously supported by the King. James even made an unasked award in the matter and threw Walter into the Fleet prison for refusing to accept it. There he remained for eight years until James died.

After Preston's death a marriage was arranged

between his only daughter and heiress and the son of the Earl of Denbigh.

In anticipation of the marriage the Earldom of Desmond was conferred upon the latter.

But, on the wedding-day, the bride failed to appear.

Another record explains the matter. Earl Walter's grandson and heir had been brought to London at the instance of the English government, to be reared up a Protestant for State reasons.

There he met, and fell in love with his cousin, Elizabeth Preston, who seems to have thrown her other lover overboard, and married him. He became the "Great" Duke of Ormond. The quarrel about the estates was settled by this marriage.

Be it as a compensation for his disappointment, or because it was not easy to recall the definite grant of an earldom, the title of Earl of Desmond remained with the heir of Denbigh, and is held by the Earls of that house, as a secondary title, to this day.

The policy of confiscation, initiated by Elizabeth, was continued by James I. It was a convenient means of rewarding supporters and providing money for the King himself.

James confiscated and planted Ulster when the opportunity offered, and was planning to do the same with Connaught, when death overtook him.

Besides, titles to estates were investigated for legal quips and flaws, plentiful enough in ancient loosely-drawn documents, with much resultant profit in the way of fines or confiscations.

Religious matters were also a source of revenue. Grand Juries were ordered to find bills against prominent Irish gentlemen who did not attend the Protestant churches on Sundays. Sometimes the Grand Juries obeyed, but not always. It came to the same thing in the latter case, as the recalcitrant jurors were fined themselves instead.

King Charles was not much better than King James. But he soon found plenty to occupy him in his struggle with the English parliament, and indeed gradually withdrew the English troops from Ireland, as his need for them grew in England. Nay, he even attempted through his Deputy Strafford to raise an Irish army, to attack the Scots who had invaded England, but a quick march of the Scotch from the threatened area put an end to this project.

In the reign of King James the Onaght territory in the barony of Clanwilliam East was held largely by Ryans and Bourkes, but Sir Hardress Waller had the Grianan (Greenane). The Bourkes were spread far and wide over the district. They held all the land along the northern base of Slievenamuck, and were settled at Pallasgrean, Brittas, Caherconlish, and Castleconnell in the County Limerick. They held Muskry Quirke in part, and the O'Briens still held much of Aherlow, but probably as feudatories or tenants to the Fittons. The O'Heffernans held Shronell.

Of all these Sir Hardress Waller alone supported the cause of the Parliament in the struggle with Charles I.

Indeed, the Irish were not keen royalists at this

time. They were sullen because of the destruction of their old customs and the forcible imposition of new laws and taxes and a state religion.

As soon as the English soldiers were withdrawn they broke out in rebellion. They slew many Protestant settlers in the North, but in the South there was very little of that kind of thing. Wildly exaggerated reports went to England, and money was raised on the security of Irish lands to be confiscated later, in order to enable the Parliament to raise an army to revenge the massacre, and reduce the Irish again to subjection.

The money was probably spent in the contest with the King. At any rate, when Cromwell came over and reduced the country by his drastic measures to a subjection that was almost hopeless, his soldiers were not paid, so that additional grants of lands had to be made to satisfy them. Thus the Irish had to pay twice over for this campaign.

It was meant to drive all the surviving Irish and the Catholic Anglo-Normans into Connaught, but it soon became clear that this was impossible. Farmers and labourers were needed for the new colonists, and the Irish soon proved that they were the fittest for the work for they were accustomed to hardship, and so strongly attached to the land that they were willing to endure privations that no Englishman would undergo, to secure a subsistence there. So that it was mainly the chiefs and landlords who went to Connaught. Except in very few cases they never got back their lands, but they probably came back, when the Stuarts were restored, to their ancient districts. At any rate,

they seem to have left few traces in Connaught. The plain people remained. They were barely tolerated at first, but soon made themselves necessary to the new owners.

A Leicestershire knight named Sir Roger Smith advanced £300 to the first loan for the subjugation of Ireland. He subsequently transferred his debenture to his son Erasmus, a successful London merchant.

Erasmus bought other debentures, there being much traffic in them, just as there is in Government stocks of to-day.

He became a leader of the stockholders or "adventurers" owing to the large holding so acquired. He got large grants of lands, and amongst them a considerable slice of the barony of Clanwilliam, including nearly all the site of the town of Tipperary.

This land is still owned by his descendants or trustees, or people to whom it has been sold by them.

Similarly, one John Dawson of the Inns of Court, bought up debentures, and exchanged them for part of the glen of Aherlow, in Clanwilliam, and lands in Iffa and Offa, south of the Galtees.

County Limerick was given over to the soldiers and the Masseys got Duntryleague and the western end of Aherlow, in that county. The O'Dwyers lost Kilnemanagh which was also given to soldiers, and the Maudes took their place.

Sir Hardress Waller as a stout Parliamentarian and even a regicide, was undisturbed in the possession of Greenane. His representatives even

managed to retain it somehow after the restoration of Charles II., and the present owner derives title from them.[1]

All this disturbance of titles and ownership upset the economics of the districts concerned. Men of good birth and estate became landless now and, with many who had earned livings as their soldiers or employés, found themselves driven to lurk in mountain or wooded recesses, raiding the newcomers for a livelihood so that the position of these colonists soon became precarious. These raiders were called "Tories" and the name was ironically attached to the Royalists and Jacobite party in England.

Even the Commonwealth rulers were anxious to get rid of these free soldiers. Permits were issued to them to enlist in the service of Continental powers, not at war with England, and to cross the seas for that purpose.

We find, for example, a license issued in November 1653 to Col. Edmund O'Dwyer to transport 3500 Irish for the service of the Prince de Conde.

And we may be sure that many of the men of Kilnemanagh marched with him when he left with his 3500 in 1654—marched to die on far-off battlefields, or grow old in French barrack-rooms —but rarely to return.

Altogether the Commonwealth encouraged the

[1] Another regicide's family is traditionally believed to have settled near Cappawhite, and the name of a third landowner in the district is that also of a signatory to King Charles's death-warrant.

emigration of nearly 50,000 Irishmen of military age—the real beginning of the flight of the "Wild Geese" that lasted for a century, and fraught with romance as it was, left the Ireland at home so weak and exhausted.

The women remained behind. From the songs of the people we can gather how they felt. "Shule Aroon" for example, comes down from the days of the "Wild Geese".

I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel
I'll sell my only spinning-wheel
To buy my love a sword of steel
Is go dteigh tù a mhuirnin slán.

. . . .

And now my love has gone to France
To try his fortune to advance
If he come back, 'tis but a chance
Is go dteigh tù a mhuirnin slán.[1]

The main exodus took place during the fifty or sixty years following the siege of Limerick by William of Orange. The Stuarts had been restored, apparently on covenant not to meddle with the rights of the Cromwellian planters. At any rate, only a few of the most prominent Irish leaders got their lands back. Boyle's sons had fought strenuously for the Parliament, but one of them, Lord Broghill, was a leading instrument in the restoration of Charles II. He held his lands. Ormond, too, got back his property. His half-brother, George Mathew, defended Cahir Castle against the Cromwellians for a while, but sur-

[1] May you go safely, my darling.

rendered on being besieged, on promise of protection to his life and property.

It was probably from Ormond that the Mathews got Thomastown, which lies between Kilfeakle and Athassel. They were notable in local Irish history for many a day.

IN LATER DAYS

At the siege of Limerick it is probable that many an inhabitant of these districts defended the old walls, or rode with Sarsfield on his gallant raid to Ballyneety (where we have seen Perrot wandering in search of the elusive Fitzmaurice), and when the siege was over and the Irish soldiers marched down to the French ships, at anchor in the Shannon, turning deaf ears to the blandishments of the English recruiting-officers, there must have been many amongst them of the Clan Brien, and numerous Ryans and O'Dwyers.

Thenceforward the history of these districts merges in the general history of Ireland. It is beyond our scope to deal with that. But one thing requires to be emphasised. From 1600 to 1900 the struggle for the possession of the land was the dominant factor in the story.

It is true that the struggle was rendered much more bitter by religious differences, and by the attempt to enforce the adoption of the official English creed by very oppressive penal legislation, and by the restriction of the endowments and gifts within control of the State, to its favoured professors.

Two classes were created with opposing interests sharply divided. On the one side were the landowners, nearly all Protestants deriving their title from conquest. On the other were the farmers and tillers of the soil, of whom the vast majority were Catholics. All the resources of the State were at the disposal of the former. Catholics could not enter parliament or become members of the corporations of towns or cities. They could not become judges or barristers or even attorneys. They could not take long leases of lands. They could not own a horse worth more than £5. If the son of a Catholic became a Protestant he inherited his father's lands to the exclusion of his brethren. They could only trade under disabilities in cities or towns.

In a country where agricultural produce was almost the only wealth the laws seemed devised to reduce the native Irish, and the earlier invaders whom they had absorbed to the position of perennial serfs. According to all the rules of the game, they should have been impoverished for ages, and forced ultimately to become an indistinguishable but inferior part of the English race, with English ideas and English beliefs. For they no longer had land, cattle, or wealth in any shape. They had no means of acquiring learning or skill in arms, nor indeed the arms themselves. And the men who could use them, if they had them, fled from every creek and bay in Cork and Kerry and Galway on the French ships that constantly stole in to transport the recruits for the Irish Brigades on the Continent.

But an indomitable refusal to submit stood them in good stead of all the things that they lacked, and, in strange fashion enough, the desperate struggle has culminated in the restoration of the ownership of the soil to the bearers of the old Irish names, in the main. But the price of the victory has been a high one. It has cost them 300 years of veiled or open warfare, marked by the deepest poverty and suffering. The gallows has again and again taken toll of their boldest and bravest. But the toll was small compared to the roll of victims of famine and pestilence, or the list of exiles who fill so many foreign graves.

As to famine, let a few records speak for themselves.

"In 1739 an early and severe frost destroyed the potatoes in the ground, and the helplessness and despair of the people having led to a great falling-off of tillage in 1740, the calamity was prolonged to the ensuing year 1741, which was long known as the '*bliadhain an air*' or 'year of slaughter'. The ordinary burial-grounds were not large enough to contain those who died by the roadside or who were taken from the deserted cabins. The 'bloody flux' and 'malignant fever' having begun among the poor spread to the rich. . . . The famine of 1741 was not regarded with any active interest either in England or in any foreign country, and the subject is scarcely alluded to in the literature of the period."

. . . . . .

"The failure of 1822 in the provinces of Munster and Connaught was owing to a continued

and excessive humidity which caused the potatoes to rot after they had been stored in pits. In February 1822 a public meeting in London started a subscription which realised £311,081 : 5 : 7, for relief of Irish distress."

"In 1831 another failure of the potato crop occurred in the counties of Galway, Mayo, and Donegal. £74,000 was raised for its relief from charitable London subscribers."

In each of the years 1835, 1836, and 1837 the potato crop failed in one or other of the districts in the west of Ireland. . . . In 1839 another failure occurred.[1] But all these pale into insignificance before the great famine of 1847, when a plant disease destroyed the whole potato crop.

Lord Lansdowne's agent, a Mr. Trench, depicts its result in words that may stand beside Spenser's famous description.

"They died in their mountain-glens, they died along the sea-coast, they died on the roads, and they died in the fields; they wandered into the towns, and died on the streets; they closed their cabin doors, and lay down upon their beds and died of actual starvation in their houses." [2]

"But there was abundance of corn, abundance of flour, and abundance of meal in the country, not to speak of herds of sheep and cattle innumerable. . . . There was also abundance of money to purchase food. The people were dying by hundreds, of actual dire starvation, merely for

[1] *The Irish Crisis*, by E. C. Trevelyan, 1848.
[2] Trench's *Realities of Irish Life*, p. 146.

want of some one with sufficient energy and powers of organisation to bring the food and the people together." [1]

To this result had the confiscations and the feudal land system brought this ancient people.

They died as told, and emigrated by the hundred thousand, but the remnant held doggedly on, through sunshine and storm—and the great famine was by no means the last of the storm—and to-day the names of O'Brien, Quirke, and Bourke are still plentiful amongst the dwellers in Aherlow and Muskry Quirke. It is most curious to think that their owners are probably descendants of the people who held these places when Brien Boroimhe marched through Aherlow, or when the de Burgos rode there in mail-clad state.

Over all this terrible story of slaughter and devastation there is a gloomy splendour shed by the lustre of the house of Desmond, like that of a sunset in storm-clouds. And it lights up the vale of Aherlow and these hills as such a sunset may often do. For, as we have seen, the central point and fortress of these struggles was Aherlow under its various names, ranging from Harlo to Eatherlach. In its great woods these outlaws often rested securely, even at the very moment when their foes were raiding the valley itself. And even to-day, with all the improvements of transport, and though the vast woods have been largely cleared away, it would need thousands of men to

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 107-108.

surround and search it thoroughly. From there the Desmond outlaws threatened and attacked Cashel, Limerick, and Kilmallock alike, and all the dwellers in the rich plains between, who were not supporters of theirs. And they held their strongholds there to the last.

Looking down now into the valley from the crest of Slievenamuck one sees no trace of the ancient woods of vast extent that once existed. On the mountain flanks are some modern larch woods in orderly ranking, but the Galtee slopes are covered, for the most part with heather and gorse, and the valley beneath though not treeless is mainly used as rich pasture. The great forests have vanished.

It is probable that they were cut down, as a military measure, subsequently to the revolts with which we have been dealing. And so utterly is the face of the landscape altered that it is hard to realise that they once existed. Peaceful herds graze there now and the golden corn yellows the lands, in autumn, that were once the scene of such merciless devastation.

The story of the Desmonds has been treated, perhaps, at too great a length. But it is impossible to convey any coherent idea of the struggle in which these districts were so deeply involved without outlining the whole story, and attempting some sketches of the principal actors therein. The tale of James, son of Maurice, Geraldine and Desmond—perhaps the finest soldier of that proud house—is not a thing to tell in bits and scraps, without comment. It would seem a

fitting thing if, one day, a statue of this gallant fighter looked out from some hill-crest of Slievenamuck, over the frontier marches of that Desmond that he sought to liberate and preserve.

> While kings, in dusky darkness hid,
> Have left a nameless pyramid
> Thy heroes, though the general doom
> Hath swept the column from their tomb,
> A mightier monument command.
> The mountains of their native land.

But the Galtees look down on Tipperary to-day as calmly and as peacefully as if they had never witnessed the passages of fire and sword that are written of above. Their mountain lakes lie in a silence that is rarely disturbed except by the ever-restless lapping of the waters on their stony shores, as if they were for ever trying to whisper something of the tales of old.

These hills have seen the Desmonds come and go. Carew and his royal mistress have vanished, too, into the night, and it looks to-day as if their works and achievements in this spot were but transient things like themselves. The plains and valleys that they had devastated smile again, and the laughter and song of the Celt are heard there, as if they never were.

These mountains have seen the son of Brian in battle—probably, have even looked down upon the mighty Brian himself. They have heard the horns of the Fianna sounding along the hillsides as they chased the deer. Long before that the forge-fires of the Firbolg bronze-workers must have lighted

up their valleys. To them it is all but as the dream of a day, coming and going like the mist-wreaths on their crests.

And so they seem to look down upon us with a sort of sympathy, dumbly, but wondering at our trouble over the things that pass so swiftly away. Their days—their centuries even—have been numbered by the thousands, and they stand there grey and wise with the lore of untold ages. It is so that they have attained to their everlasting calm.

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